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THE 'FAN KWAE' AT CANTON

Before Treaty Days

1825-1844

By

AN OLD RESIDENT

(WILLIAM C. HUNTER)

Published by

"ORIENTAL AFFAIRS"

19-21 Avenue Edward VII, Shanghai, China

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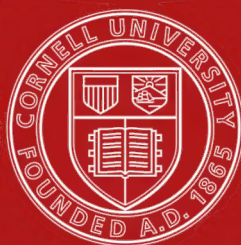
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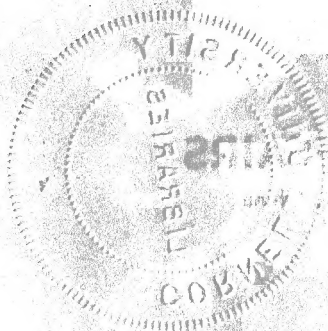


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P R E F A C E

The first edition of "The 'Fan Kwae' at Canton" was published in 1882. The Author, who used the pseudonym of "An Old Resident" was the late William C. Hunter, who for many years was a partner in the firm of Russell and Co., at Canton. He died at Nice in June, 1891, a few days after the failure of that firm.

As the volume had long been out of print a new edition was issued in 1911. That, also, is exhausted. In view of the interest attaching to this vivid description of life in Canton in the pre-Treaty days, the Editor of *Oriental Affairs* has decided to issue a new limited edition.

Shanghai, March 1938.

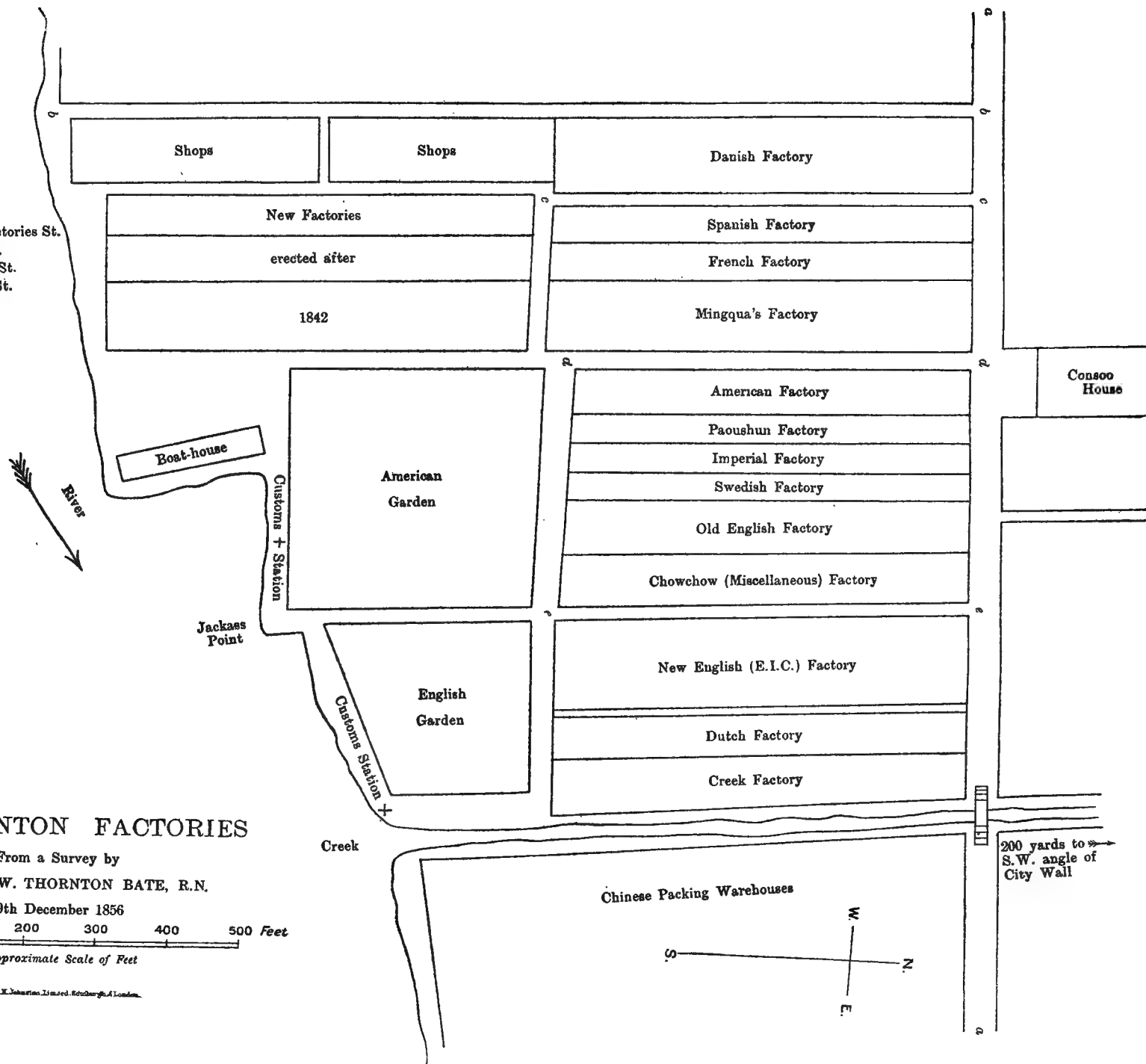
PREFACE TO FIRST EDITION

During the days of Old Canton, the Middle Kingdom deigned to suffer the presence of a small number of 'foreign barbarians' on the banks of the Choo, or Pearl River. Their residences consisted of Factories built expressly for them, and originally destined one for each nationality. They were contiguous, except where separated by three streets of narrow dimensions which led from the suburbs of the city to the river which ran in front of them.

No other port than that of Canton was open, nor had there been one since 1745, and no foreigner was permitted on any pretext to enter the country or even the city outside of which he lived. The actual relations of the Chinese Government with Western nations consequent upon the treaties have caused such an entire change from the old mode of transacting business, as well as in the life then led by the few foreign residents at Canton, that a narration of the peculiar conditions of both (as they were) is now, as a Chinese official would say, placed 'on record.'

Paris: March 31, 1882.

- aa. Thirteen Factories St.
- bb. Pwanting St.
- cc. New China St.
- dd. Old China St.
- ee. Hog Lane.



THE CANTON FACTORIES

From a Survey by

COMMANDER W. THORNTON BATE, R.N.

29th December 1856

0 100 200 300 400 500 Feet

Approximate Scale of Feet

W.A.A. Johnston Limited, Edinburgh & London

OLD CANTON

EVEN the departure of a vessel from New York for Canton in 1824 was a rare occurrence. Neither had it yet become fashionable to place the accent on the *last* syllable in the name of that distant port. It would have appeared pedantic. Years after, only, did it become *ton*! As the ship cast off, the neighbouring wharves were crowded with lookers-on, national and private flags were run up to the mast-heads of sea-going craft lying near.

Cheers were heard as she glided into the river, and the ship *Citizen*, Captain E. L. Keen, passed Sandy Hook in the evening of October 9 of the above year, bound to the Central Flowery Land. Friends and relations who had accompanied us thus far now took leave, and returned to the city in the Pilot boat, steam tugs not having yet come into existence.

The *Citizen* of 498 tons, was one of seven ships* owned by Mr. Thomas H. Smith of New York, who had been for many years engaged in the China trade. She had already made two voyages to Canton, and, before leaving on her present one, had been newly coppered and 'thoroughly' overhauled, the better to withstand the westerly gales she was likely to encounter on her return passage off the Cape of Good Hope in the winter season. The crew consisted of thirty-two men and boys, with two officers. One of the latter, the Second Officer, as well as Captain Kean and ten or twelve of the men, had served on board Privateers in our last war with Great Britain, while eight sailors had just returned from a three years' cruise in the Pacific on board the U.S. 74 *Franklin*, Commodore Stewart. As usual at this time with vessels bound on Eastern voyages, the *Citizen* was well provided with arms and ammunition—not only for the risk of pirates in the Atlantic, to whom her valuable cargo offered great temptation, but from possible mishaps while passing through the Eastern Straits.

The cargo consisted of 350,000 Spanish dollars in kegs (no letters of credit on London bankers then existing) furs, lead, bar and scrap iron, and quicksilver. Passengers were not taken except under peculiar circumstances. I should have been the only one, in virtue of being destined for Mr. Smith's Factory at Canton, but just before sailing a Scotch gentleman presented himself at the office, and sought a passage on board. The letters he bore were of a high character, among them being one from the celebrated Mr. Hume. His name was Fullerton, and his vocation that of

*Viz., *The Huntress, Beaver, Europa, America, Maria and Mary Lord.*

surgeon in the English East India Company's service. He was allowed to go in the ship, and proved to be a most intelligent and amiable person.

He had made several voyages to India and China, was full of anecdote and pleasant conversation, thereby relieving the weariness of the journey. The medical advice he most cheerfully gave rendered him a valuable addition to us, particularly on the occasion of the ship taking fire just before making Sandal Wood Island, when one of the men was so seriously injured that his life was despaired of for a time; but although he managed to get back in the ship to New York, he never did a day's work after the accident. My fellow-passenger was only known on board as Dr. Smyth. He had come to New York expressly to get to China in an 'out of season' vessel, which ours was. We had no idea of the object he had in view, and he volunteered no information. These was, however, a little mystery in the matter.

On our arrival at 'Lintin' we had scarcely anchored when my fellow-passenger took fast* boat and went to Macao. Soon after, we heard that he had there engaged two young Chinese small-footed women to accompany him to Calcutta, from whence he took passage with them to England as a 'speculation.' Subsequently we learnt that he was associated in the enterprise with Captain C——, also of the Honourable East India Company's service, on board whose vessel he had filled the office of surgeon. While in England, these 'Golden Lilies'† had the honour of presentation to H. M. George IV. The enterprise, however, was not successful. It met with great opposition in certain quarters, and finally it ended by those two young daughters of 'Han'‡ being returned to their own country.

Some years after, in the winter of 1832, I last had the pleasure of shaking hands with my old shipmate at Canton. He was then Surgeon of the Honourable Company's ship *Lady Melville*.

We had the misfortune to lose the ship's cook about five o'clock on the morning of the 25th day out, when he sprung into the sea. We had rushed on deck at the cry of 'cook overboard' and heard him shout as he passed the ship's quarter, 'You are all going to—(a most uncomfortable place of one syllable, beginning with the letter H), I'm going to Guadaloupe.' The ship was instantly brought to the wind, a man sent aloft to keep the poor fellow in sight, and a boat lowered in a trice, but he suddenly disappeared. We resumed our course. The crew had often been amused while about the galley to find its 'monarch' with an open Bible in one hand, and the boiler with a 'tormentor' in the other! They thought

*A fast pulling sailing boat.

†A poetical term for small-footed women.

‡One of the most famous Chinese dynasties. 2nd and 3rd centuries A. D.. from which the name 'children of Han.'

him a 'queer fellow,' particularly as he would caution them as to their wickedness in blaspheming, and their reading aloud from it, while prodding the salt junk in utter disregard of the future! We had heard through the officers of those erratic ways and strange conduct for a 'ship's cook,' but no one imagined that his head was turned.

The next morning the chief officer discovered on our starboard beam a three-masted felucca, under small sail, standing as ourselves. It was nearly calm; presently the 'little stranger' steered for us, manned a certain number of sweeps, and seemed to have a great number of men on board. She was about 140 or 150 tons burthen. While examining her with our glasses, a sail was set on her jigger mast. There seemed to be a general wish that she would 'come on,' in spite of what was unmistakably a heavy swivel gun amidships. We showed our colours, to which no reply was made. At last we seemed to have fallen in with the traditional 'long, low, black schooner' metamorphosed into a felucca for the nonce. Suddenly the man at the wheel directed the attention of the mate to another sail just appearing on our larboard beam; she was steering to the southward, with a light air and under a crowd of sail. As she approached, she proved to be a schooner of the size of our revenue cutters. A barque also hove in sight, bringing up a stiff squall, with heavy rain. The felucca was next observed standing on the same course as ourselves. We trimmed sail to the wind, and hauled up to the Eastward; presently the wind increasing, the schooner crossed our bows, almost within hailing distance—a beautiful object to look at. She set all studding sails as she went by us, with a fore skysail, and that other unusual sail, now, perhaps, never heard of, and then not common, called a 'ring tail.'

We crossed the equator on the thirty-first day out, with a good easterly wind, which hauled to the south-east and blew stiffly. A few days after we discovered a good-sized barque standing in for the coast of South America. She hoisted the Brazilian colours. Her decks, forward of the mainmast, were crowded with negroes, while abaft we observed several dark-brown gentlemen, the captain, officers and supercargoes, perhaps. She was evidently a slaver returning from the West coast of Africa with a full cargo of ebony. She crossed our bows within a few hundred yards, and on gaining our star-board side, our dark-brown friends raised their panamas, and waving them, wished us 'Bon voyage.' This vessel proved to be the last 'living thing' we saw for a period of nearly fifty days, except albatross, whales and Mother Carey's chickens.

Passing within a short distance of Tristan d'Acuna to correct our time, we then began the long tedious running down 'eastings.' The weather was generally fine, with a bright sun; it was in the summer season. Our

course between 43 and 45 south latitude. The sea ran 'mountains high,' the crest off each wave breaking in masses of sparkling diamonds, then losing itself in the wilderness of waters, an indescribably magnificent sight. The ship rolled gunwale under, receiving on board vast quantities of water, which swashed fore and aft and from side to side, at times two or three feet deep. Gradually this frightful chaos of warring winds and furious seas became a matter of course, while Captain Keen gave way to his delight in exclaiming, 'How splendidly she behaves' or 'She rides the seas like a bird'; and thus we went on, with little change, until we made the island of Amsterdam.

We then steered direct for Sandalwood Island, across a pleasant south trade, with nothing material occurring until two days before sighting it. After the cook had left us so abruptly for Guadaloupe, it was arranged that the chief steward should fill his place for the cabin, while some of the crew offered their services for the forecastle and the steerage; thus everything went on well in this respect. Before we now made the land, taking advantage of the fine weather and smooth sea which prevailed, all hands were occupied in caulking the bends and the deck, while, as had before happened, the leak decreased. The 'officer of the kitchen' for the day referred to was a fine young sailor about 25 years of age. Being in the galley in the afternoon, about seven bells, watching a pot of pitch being boiled, it overflowed, and the contents fell among the burning coals. Instead of immediately clapping on the lid, he seems to have lost his head, and in attempting to unship the pot from the hook it capsized, and in a moment everything was in a blaze, burning the poor fellow so fearfully that he had to be carried to his bunk. His lower limbs were almost peeled, and had it not been for the presence of the 'doctor' he would inevitably have died. We passed close to the harbour and town of 'Dilly,' which displayed the Portuguese flag.

Two years before, the ship *Ontario*, Captain Depeyster, belonging to the owner of the *Citizen*, called in at Dilly for supplies on her way to Canton, and was totally lost in coming out of the harbour.

The loss of the *Ontario* gave rise to the longest passage ever made between Whampoa and New York. Captain Depeyster left Dilly, with the treasure saved from the wreck of his ship, for Batavia, and there chartered the American brig *Pocahontas* to carry it to Canton. Mr. Smith's agent there rechartered her to take as much of the proceeds of the treasure as she could carry in teas and silks to New York, where she safely arrived in charge of the first officer, Mr. Teel (Captain Snow having died on the passage) close upon ten months from Whampoa.

"A good full" cries out the second mate to the man at the wheel as a breeze springs up. A first-rate 'old salt' and as odd as a fish, our second

mate, as need be. I have been time and again amused with the yarns he has spun during his first watches. Of the war of 1812 he is full of anecdotes. He is always on the dolphin striker when porpoises are around us, and usually strikes successfully. Anything not done in a sailor-like fashion excites him, and we hear him cry out, 'You'll never be a sailor. You were not shaped for a sailor. You were cut out to handle a musket, not a marlin-spike.' 'Sailors', said he to me one evening, 'have their prejudices like others; they have always a run upon soldiers, more perhaps in joke than in earnest. A sailor will say, 'Give me a messmate before a watchmate, a watchmate before a shipmate, a shipmate before a dog, a dog before a marine, a marine before a soldier, a soldier before—the devil.' If you ask why a marine in preference to a soldier the answer is, because he knows the difference between the best bower anchor and—a 'chaw of baccy.'

We now steered for Dampier Straits. Having left Booro astern, we were struck with a sudden and violent squall, resembling more a tornado. The rain poured down like a deluge, the rattling of the thunder and the vividness of the lightning were frightful. Our maintopsail-yard was snapped asunder in the slings, the fore and mizen topsails flew into ribbons; the jib disappeared from the bolt ropes. Each flash of lightning was succeeded by the darkness of Erebus, while in the midst of all, the loud voices of the officers and the replies of the men created a turmoil such as I had never witnessed.

The squall was luckily of short duration; it came upon us during the dog watch, but so intelligently did all hands do their duty, that by midnight another maintopsail-yard was crossed, the sail bent, the other topsails and the jib replaced, and we were making good way with all sail set, 'low and aloft', including royals and flying jib. The stars shone out with increased brilliancy, all things had returned to a condition of perfect quiet, so had one watch to their hammocks, and no sound fell upon the ear save the ripple of the water under the bows. We had noticed before, and this night particularly after the squall, a strong spicy odour, the air seemed 'breathing an aromatic redolence.'

As we neared Pigeon Island, the vast and imposing one of New Guinea being to our right, numerous canoes came alongside. The appearance of their inmates was singularly repulsive; the wool on the heads of these Papuans was of so fertile a growth, that it reached a diameter of two feet, while from the application of chunam, it becomes a dirty uncertain red, hideous to behold. By means of baskets attached to ropes, we carried on a trade, giving in exchange for shells, plantains, papayas, stuffed birds of paradise, and ingeniously made baskets everything in the shape of cast-off garments that we could muster. It was thought a mockery when I

offered an old straw hat for a bird of paradise, but everything seemed fish that came to their net, and to my surprise the bucket returned with the coveted prize. On the return of the ship to New York I sent it home, and it proved a rare and most acceptable gift. We anchored near Pigeon Island during the night, and the next day entered the Pacific Ocean.

We hove to close to the Pelew Islands, to allow a crowd of canoes to come alongside, that we might obtain further supplies of fruit, shells, and yams, and thereby get rid of the remainder of our old clothes. The natives were considered as unoffensive, but this was not justified by an attack made by them, just before we passed, on a schooner from Java to Lintin. Her deck was crowded with natives, who had been permitted to come on board, and while bartering, suddenly the crew was fallen upon and several killed, all who could taking to the rigging. Plundering then commenced. The 'boarders' were having it their own way, but had overlooked the cook, who had shut himself in his galley. Bolting one door, he suddenly commenced a liberal distribution of hot water on the assailants, who, being entirely naked, plunged overboard with astounding shrieks and yells. The men aloft quickly descended. Seizing handspikes, they were in time to cut off the retreat of many who had been inspecting the cabin lockers, the bodies of these were thrown overboard, a few musket shots hastened the departure of the canoes, and the schooner continued on her journey.

Our course was north-westerly, the crew employed in putting the ship in order. After passing through the Bashees, one of the men being over the side, to reeve the lower studding sail tack, he tumbled overboard. The second officer, to whose watch he belonged, threw him a rope, which he *just* caught and was soon hauled up on deck. 'You must have been asleep' said, Mr. Hughes, who then asked him if the water felt warm or cold. When the officer came in the cabin later, he exclaimed, 'That fellow wouldn't have fallen had he not been fast asleep; but it is lucky for him he "awoke in time" to get hold of the rope, or he would have gone down.' This is a specimen of what 'Jack' calls 'sojer's comfort.' They had what they called 'sailor's comfort' every Saturday afternoon in the middle watch. It consisted in overhauling their chests and bags, mending their clothes, on the system, as they said, of putting a patch next to a patch, as being neighbourly, but never a patch upon a patch, as that was beggarly. Many of the men remembered, as boys, the wearing of 'pig tails', and their being mutually dressed, preceded by one calling out in the 'foksle' of 'Tie for tie', or 'Tie me and I'll tie you, and damn all favour.'

No happier crew were ever 'rocked upon the cradle of the deep' than the one of which the *Citizen* was composed. This was the result of uniformly taut, but considerate treatment, the best of food, good grog, and no

needless botheration, while the utmost harmony prevailed between Captain Keen and his officers. On the return of the ship to Canton, on her second voyage after, in 1827, Captain Keen related the homeward passage of 1825, which was an unusually hard one. The ship was forty days from point Natal to the Cape, knocked about in the teeth of westerly gales and frightful seas, and referring to his crew he remarked, 'No better men ever manned a ship.'

We made the coast of China at 5 a.m. on February 11, 1825. A pilot came on board off the Lema Islands, took us through the channel of the same name, having to starboard the then 'terra incognita', 'Hong Kong', and anchored the ship under the island of 'Lintin' at 2 o'clock p.m., 125 days from New York.

* * *

The island of 'Ling Ting' or the 'Solitary Nail', commonly called 'Lin Tin', was at this time the anchorage of the 'opium store ships', and temporarily of vessels whose destination was Whampoa (with some exceptions). On the arrival of an American ship, she communicated with her agent at Canton by means of a 'fast boat', meanwhile despatching another one to Macao for a pilot to take her inside the river. The *exceptions* were the ships of the English East India Company, and country ships from India having no opium on board (those which had anchoring at Lintin to deliver it); these then took pilots off Macao and sailed directly to the 'inner anchorage' as Whampoa was called. The Lintin anchorage was not, however, only an opium station. All vessels bound to Whampoa were loaded with general cargo, or with rice only, and were subject to what were called Cumsha and Measurement charges. These were very heavy in the case of the former, but moderate in the latter. It was therefore an object for a vessel entering the river with only part of a general cargo to fill up with any freight that might offer, and thus reduce the heavy charges referred to, or to send up what she had, if of moderate quantity, in another ship, then load with rice and go on to Whampoa, if she was to load with tea for her return voyage. It almost always happened that these arrangements could be made as arrivals were continually taking place with rice cargoes, and general cargoes.

After a week's detention at Lintin, the *Citizen* was directed to receive any river freight that might offer and proceed to Whampoa. In passing the Bogue* forts, the main topsail was backed while the Pilot went on shore

**Bogue* is a corruption of the Portuguese word *bocca* (mouth). When the Portuguese first approached it, about 1525, the strong resemblance of the red sandstone eminence to the left of the narrow mouth of the Pearl River to a tiger's mouth caused the exclamation, still perpetuated in its name, 'Bocca Tigre.' The Chinese name for it is "the Lion's Gate."

to exhibit his pass to the Mandarin, with whom he returned to the ship, ostensibly to verify description with fact; but it is unnecessary to say this had become a mere matter of form. After a glass of wine, and presenting the old gentleman with a few sheets of writing paper, which, I found out afterwards, were considered a great treat, I offered him a box of a then recent invention, viz., friction matches; they astonished him mightily, and he left us with numerous 'Chin-chins', and best wishes for 'good wind and good water' equivalent to a quick passage. We anchored abreast of French Island on the 20th.

* * *

It was in the year 1745 that Yung Chin, the third Emperor of the present Dynasty, ordered all foreign trade to be confined to the port of Canton, universally known as Whampoa. Separated by a branch of the river from French Island stands Dane's Island. These were so named from the privilege that those nationalities originally enjoyed of occupying bankshalls or storehouses upon them, wherein to shelter the crews while smoking ship and overhauling after the desperately long passages they must have made from Europe. All vestiges of these buildings have long since disappeared, but numerous decaying tombstones, half buried beneath earth and weeds, still tell the tale. The regular tea season being over, we found few vessels at Whampoa, and these, as with the *Citizen*, were designated 'out of season' ships. The Northern side of the anchorage is formed by the important island of Wang-po; the river is named the Wang-po, and the same name is applied to the anchorage. The words mean the 'Yellow Anchorage.' On the island is a large town of many thousand inhabitants, almost all of whom are directly or indirectly connected with the foreign shipping, as compradores, stevedores, blacksmiths, etc.

The Choo, or Pearl River, commonly called the Canton River, presented a vastly different appearance on the 21st February, 1825 from what it did twenty years later. It was then crowded with native vessels, including those immense coasting junks which have now almost entirely disappeared. They then made voyages to the northern and southern ports of China, to the Celebes, Borneo and Java, and to Singapore, as well as Manila. Long tiers of salt junks lined the shore of the island of Honam; these brought cargoes from Teenpak and places on the coast south-westward of Macao. They were owned by a corporation of salt merchants, who enjoyed a monopoly of the trade, and, to prevent smuggling, a special fleet of cruisers was organized by the local government. The penalties against a clandestine introduction of salt were as severe, and more rigorously carried out than even against opium. The merchants were an influential body, as much considered as the Hong merchants, whom they rivalled in wealth. The number of cargo boats from the interior, of passenger boats, floating re-

sidences and up-country craft, with Government cruisers and flower boats, was prodigious. To these must be added sampans,[†] ferry boats plying to and from Honam, and quantities of barbers' boats, vendors of every description of food, of clothes, of toys, and what would be called household requirements if in shops on shore; besides boats of fortune-tellers and of theatrical performers—in short, imagine a city afloat, and it conveys a very correct idea of the incessant movement, the subdued noises, the life and gaiety of the river.

But now, an additional interest was added to this floating scene, from its being the first days of the Chinese new year. The noise of gongs, as a compliment to the meeting of mutual acquaintances, or when one boat or junk arrived or set sail, was startling; and finally, the red and gilt patches of paper, on which words or sentences were written in large black characters, appropriate to the opening of the new year, formed another conspicuous feature on every kind of craft. Ships' boats were usually furnished with paddles, which were always brought into use from below the Dutch Folly to the landing place in front of the factories. The oars of our boat being therefore replaced by them, with skill and patience, after two hours from Whampoa, we landed at 'Jackass Point', so memorable in the days of old Canton. Crossing the Square, under the guidance of Captain Kean, we entered the Suy-Hong, and met with the kindest reception from Mr. Jacob Covert and Oliver H. Gordon, the special agents of Mr. Smith, and from the two younger members of the office, John H. Grosvenor and Thomas Bloodgood.

Having been sent by Mr. Smith to Canton expressly to study the Chinese language, preparatory to entering his office there, as the difficulties to be overcome in providing a teacher for me proved insuperable, Mr. Covert decided to send me at once to Singapore, where a college had been commenced in which foreign students could be received, and which might be ready for the purpose. I went, therefore, to the Strait in the Bombay ship *Good Success*, Captain Poynton, and arrived at my destination in the month of April, after seventeen days' passage. I took letters to the Resident, Mr. Crawford, and others, and was consigned to Messrs. A. L. Johnston and Co. The college, however, had not only not been finished, but there was no prospect of its being. My friends, therefore, after taking information from Malacca, where the Anglo-Chinese College was in full operation, sent me there in a small native brig. We arrived after four days' passage from Singapore. During the two months that I passed at Singapore I was the guest of Mr. and Mrs. Christopher Read in their bungalow on the ascent of Government Hill. I shall never forget the

[†]*Sampan*, a small skiff or boat.

parental care of my host and hostess. They soon caused me to forget that I was the youngest of strangers in, to me, a most strange land. To this day I recall their quiet and unaffected efforts to make me at home, and the drives they took me in their palkee gharrie. The novelty of everything interested me; it was as if I had landed on another planet. At that time the site occupied by the present town of Singapore was being cleared of its primitive jungle.

The Anglo-Chinese College was in every way adapted for instruction, and I continued in it as a student until the end of December, 1826. I then left in the ship *Bengal Merchant* for Canton. She was loaded with cotton and opium, and not a fast sailer. *Captain Brown was a most pleasant and agreeable gentleman, full of jokes and amusing stories with which to while away the time. We anchored at Singapore, which gave me an opportunity to see my old friends the Reads, Mr. A. L. Johnston, and to go to Government House to make my salaam to Governor and Mrs. Crawford, and their nieces, being received everywhere with a kindly welcome and the exclamation, 'How you have grown.' Continuing on our voyage, we passed through Caramatte Passage, the Java Sea, Straits of Salayer, and into the Pacific by Dampier's Straits again. Between the Pelews and the Bashees we fell in with a typhoon *au grand complet*. At night the sea was as white as snow and of portentous height, coming upon us with the full and uninterrupted sweep of the Pacific. We anchored at Lintin after a passage of sixty days.

Mr. D. W. C. Olyphant had arrived in 1826 as the successor of Mr. Covert; Mr. Gordon had entered the office of Messrs. Russell and Co.. No. 2 Suy-Hong. The American Factory had been entirely built anew since 1825, and to it I betook myself. In addition to Mr. Olyphant were Charles N. Talbot and Charles W. King. Mr. Talbot was filling the office of U.S. Consul, and the flag was daily hoisted in the Square in front of the house. No. 1 Suy-Hong was occupied by James P. Sturgis, No. 3 by John R. Latimer, and No. 4 by John P. Cushing, T. T. Forbes, and John Hart. With Mr. Olyphant I called on and made the acquaintancne of the Rev. Dr. Morrison, who had recently returned from England. Soon after I underwent a searching examination by him of the progress I had made in my Chinese studies at the Malacca College, and he pronounced it to be 'good.' There was no intention, however, that they should be discontinued, and in a few days I was placed under the tutorship of Le Seen-Sang. The tea-season was over; all but one or two 'out of season' ships had sailed, but of those remaining was my old home and 'first cradle of the deep', the *Citizen*, and it was not long before Captain Kean and I again on board at Whampoa 'fought over the battles' of our voyage out together.

The year 1827 was a dull one so far as business was concerned, and I read Chinese with my teacher 'Le.' At length the tea season commenced in October. When the ships began to arrive, unpleasant news came also. My brother, of the office of Thomas H. Smith and Son (as it had becomes), wrote me that 'difficulties' existed in the affairs of the house. Finally it stopped payment and went into liquidation, but from causes not attributable to its China business. The Canton agency had therefore to be closed. Consulting with Mr. Olyphant in regard to myself, he advised me to return to New York, where only my position could be arranged. As usual at the time of which I write, certain indentures between employers and *employés* were usually drawn up. They existed between Mr. Smith and myself. In them, he engaged to send me to China for the purpose of acquiring the Chinese language, and then to be employed in his Factory at Canton, as clerk or Factor, and I was to render him service until I should have reached the age of twenty-one. It was a long time for me to look forward to in 1827. Several ships of the New York house were loading which had arrived in regular course before insurmountable difficulties had occurred. Amongst them was the 'Mary Lord,' Captain Rosseter. I left in her and arrived in a good run of 120 days. My fellow-passenger was Mr. Daniel Stansbury, whose name has become identified with the American trade at Canton from his having been the inventor of a measuring rod, by which cargoes were ever after measured. It proved to be an instrument of wonderful accuracy and rapidity, simple in the extreme, as well as the most convenient that can be imagined. 'Stansbury's measuring rod,' now proverbial, dates from our last war with Great Britain, 1812, when the inventor, being at Canton, and business with the United States suspended for some time, in his days of forced idleness conceived the actual mode of measuring cargoes, which up to that time had been measured with the foot rule!

My interviews with Mr. George W. Bruen, the partner of Mr. Smith, led to no other result than the cancelling of the indentures, without indemnity. Not long after Mr. D. W. C. Olyphant himself returned to New York, leaving Messrs. Talbot and King at Canton, with the view of establishing a house there of his own. His first purchase was a very fine ship named the 'Roman,' Captain Lavender, of about 500 tons. He offered me a passage out in her, for the *chance* of being employed in the new house, which afterwards occupied for a great many years so distinguished a position in the commercial community in China. I accepted the *chance* and sailed in the 'Roman' in October. We were in all six passengers. The father and brother of Mr. Charles N. Talbot going out for the trip; Mr. Talbot, senior, had already been to Canton in 1802 or 1803. Two of the others were the Rev. E. C. Bridgeman and the Rev. David Abeel.

They were the first American missionaries to the Chinese. The former became one of the most accomplished Sinalogues of the day (which I *do not* attribute to my having given to both those gentlemen daily lessons on the passage out!) while Mr. Abeel was the *first* United States Consul appointed at *any* port north of Canton, being commissioned to Amoy.

* * *

We sailed in October, and anchored at Lintin in February, *via* Dampier's Straits, in 134 days. I was received by Mr. Talbot, who, from the yet uncertain advices from New York as regarded future business, could hold out no encouragement for me of office work; but, failing any other house, I was always welcome to a return passage in the 'Roman.' There were very few American houses then in Canton, and they were Agencies; moreover, they seemed provided with youngsters, and I accordingly prepared to leave again for New York. Meanwhile, however, Mr. Talbot busied himself on my behalf, but the stay of the 'Roman' was short and she was soon to be despatched. There appeared absolutely nothing to be done. A few days before the ship sailed, while in my room, occupied with my luggage, one of the Chinese servants came to me, and said, 'Mr. Talbot chin-chin you come down.' I went accordingly, and was introduced to Mr. Samuel Russell, the chief of the house of Russell & Co. He had heard, he said, from Mr. Talbot, of my probable return home in the 'Roman,' and had come to invite me to his office. I accepted the offer, and in the evening I was duly installed at No. 2 Suy-Hong. This was on March 24, 1829, and it became my uninterrupted home until December 31, 1842.

* * *

The word 'Factory' was an importation from India, where the commercial establishments of the 'East India Company' were so designated, and synonymous with 'agency.' It is well to explain this, as it is now being confounded with 'manufactory.'

The space occupied by the foreign community at Canton was about 300 feet from the banks of the Pearl River, eighty miles from Macao, sixty miles from Lintin, forty miles from the Bogue Forts, and ten miles from the Whampoa anchorage. In breadth from east to west it was about 1,000 feet. On it stood the Factories, which comprised the dwellings and places of business of each nation originally under one roof. The line of frontage was uniform, all looking due south. The distinction of *new* given to *one* of the two buildings occupied by the 'Company' applied to that one which was rebuilt after the great fire of 1822, which destroyed all the others, with a few exceptions, as well as, according to official accounts, '12,000 Chinese houses, shops, and temples in the western suburb.' Each Factory consisted of a succession of buildings, behind one another,

separated by narrow spaces or courts, and running north. The front ones were numbered 1, those back of them, nearly all of three stories, No. 2, 3, and so on. The least numerous Factories were then in the American Hong, the greatest number were in the Danish and Dutch Hong, which contained seven and eight respectively.

The Chinese word 'Hong' was applied to any place of business, but was more particularly used to designate the Hong of the 'Security Merchants,' whence Hong Merchants or any foreign Factory in its entirety. It signifies a row of buildings. By the Chinese, the places of business of foreigners were known as 'Foreign Hong,' those of the Security Merchants as 'Foreign Hong Merchant.'

Beginning at the west, stood the Danish Factory; adjoining it were Chinese shops in its whole length, forming New China Street, which here intervened, separating it from the Spanish. Next the French, and by its side in its whole length, that of the Hong Merchant Chungqua; Old China Street here came in, and against it was the American, then the Imperial, by its side the Paou-shun, next in order the Swedish, the old English, and then the Chow-Chow.* Now came a small narrow lane, the renowned Hog Lane, most appropriately named. The high walls of the new English Factory bordered the lane, having as next neighbour eastward the Dutch, and next to this stood the Creek Factory. The latter took its name from a small creek, which, running down along the walls of the city, here emptied into the river. Originally this creek formed the ditch of the west side of the city.

The entire number of buildings, therefore, was thirteen. Immediately in their rear, and running east and west, was a long, narrow, but important street, named "Thirteen Factory Street."

From the front of the new English a long broad terrace projected towards the river, its columns supporting an entablature, whose pediment bore the arms of England with the substitute of 'Pro Regis et Senatus Angliae' for 'Honi soit qui mal y pense.' The Dutch company ('Maatschappay') possessed a similar terrace, with the national arms and motto 'Je maintiendrai.' These two, the English and Dutch Companies, were the direct successors of those founded on December 31, 1600, and in 1602 respectively. The English Jack, the Dutch, the United States, and the Spanish flags, were daily, in 1825, hoisted before those respective Factories, and were visible from a great distance. The Spanish flag represented the Philippine Company. The French flag was hoisted on December 13, 1832, after an interval of thirty years; it denoted simply the Canton residence of the Consul, as the trade of that country was insignificant, while the Swedish, Danish, and Imperial (Austrian) direct

*"Chow-Chow," mixed.

commerce had ceased, and no other Western nation traded directly with Canton. Portugal was confined in her commercial relations to her own colony of Macao; Russia to Kiachkta. From the port of Cha-po, on the east coast of China, two junks sailed annually to Nagasaki. Siamese vessels would occasionally be seen at Whampoa, when conveying tribute bearers on their way to Peking, and not far from the Factories was the residence of the Ambassadors.

At the northern extremity of Old China Street, and facing it, stood an extensive and handsomely built series of buildings, in the Chinese style, called the 'Consoo' House, or 'Council Hall of the Foreign Factories.' It contained numerous suites of rooms for receptions and business, with open courtyards, and was always kept in excellent order and cleanliness by the Chinese in charge. It was the property of the Hong merchants collectively, and was maintained by funds appropriated by them for the purpose. When any event bearing upon the foreign trade required it, such as new regulations, or confirming old ones, or a revision of duties, the 'Tai pans' or *Chiefs of Houses* would be invited to meet the Hong merchants and discuss the subject. Any foreigner went if inclined, and would occasionally learn of many official acts, having a bearing upon business, and even upon his daily walks or boat-pulling on the river, which may have come under the notice of the authorities, who would have suggested shorter journeys or the exercise of care from collisions. It was also in the Consoo House that the Hong merchants met, or a committee of them, in the rare cases of bankruptcy or pecuniary difficulties of one of their number, and it was the depository of books of accounts relative thereto, as well as of records of meetings. The entrance to it was by a flight of broad granite steps, through large heavy folding doors of a highly polished and valuable wood.† Being a handsome specimen of this style of Chinese architecture, foreign visitors to Canton were taken to see it as one of the sights.

The Factories were the individual property of the Hong merchants, and were hired of them. By law, no women were permitted to enter them, nor were guns, muskets, powder, or military weapons allowed to be brought within the gates. Entrance to the rear Factories was by arched passages running through those in front. The lower floors were occupied by counting-rooms, godowns, and store-rooms, by the rooms of the Compradore, his assistants, servants and coolies, as well as by a massively built treasury of granite, with iron doors, an essential feature, there being no banks in existence. In front of each treasury was a well-paved open space, with table for scales and weights, the indispensable adjuncts of all money transactions, as receipts and payments were made by weight only, except in some peculiar case. The second floor was devoted to dining and sitting

†Siamese teak.

rooms, the third to bedrooms. As almost all were provided with broad verandahs and the buildings put up with care, they were quite comfortable, although in every respect devoid of ornamental work. In front of the middle Factories between Old China Street and Hog Lane ran a broad stone pavement, and this bordered an open space running down to the banks of the river, a distance of about three hundred feet. On the east side it was bounded by the wall of the East India Company's landing place and enclosure, and on the west by the wall in front of the landing and enclosure of Chungqua's Hong. The Chinese were prohibited from loitering about this 'Square,' as it was called. On the corner of Old China Street and the American Hong stood a guard-house with ten or a dozen Chinese soldiers, acting as police to prevent disturbance or annoyance to the 'foreign devils.' On the edge of the river, facing the 'Pow Shun' and the Creek Hong were 'Chop' houses,† or branches of the Hoppo's department, whose *duty* it was to prevent smuggling, but whose *interest* it was to aid and facilitate the shipping off of silks (or the landing of cloths) at a considerable reduction from the Imperial tariff. A few pleasant words, accompanied by a fee, would secure a permit for the boat of the 'Wandering Eagle,' to be allowed to pass all revenue cruisers 'without molestation' on her way to Whampoa.

The words Factory and Hong were interchangeable, although not identical. The former, as will have been seen, consisted of dwellings and offices combined. The latter not only contained numerous offices for *employés*, cooks, messengers, weighmasters, etc., but were of vast extent, and capable of receiving an entire ship's cargo, as well as quantities of teas and silk. When speaking of their own residences, foreigners generally used the word 'Factories'; when of a Hong merchant's place of business, the word Hong. The Swedish Factory, however, seemed to enjoy the distinction of going by its Chinese appellation, viz. 'Suy-Hong.'§

I have been thus specific in the description of these world-renowned Factories, as they were subsequently razed to the ground consequent upon Sir Michael Seymour's bombardment of the city of Canton. When I last visited the site, nearly thirty-five years after I first took up my residence in them, it was literally unrecognisable. It presented a scene, the desolation of desolation; there remained not one stone upon another! For more than one hundred years they had formed the sole residence of foreigners within the limits of the vast Chinese Empire. The business transacted within their walls was incalculable, and I think I am safe in saying that from the novelty of the life, the social good feeling and unbounded hospitality always mutually existing; from the facility of all dealings with the Chinese who were assigned to transact business with us, together with their proverbial

†Any Mandarin official station was locally known as 'Chophouse.'

§The Chinese name for Sweden is Suy-Kwo.

honesty, combined with a sense of perfect security to person and property, scarcely a resident of any lengthened time, in short, any 'Old Canton,' but finally left them with regret.

In no part of the world could the authorities have exercised a more vigilant care over the personal safety of strangers who of their own free will came to live in the midst of a population whose customs and prejudices were so opposed to everything foreign, and yet the Chinese Government was bound by no treaty obligations to *specially* provide protection for them. They dwelt at Canton purely on sufferance. Neither Consul nor any other official representative from abroad was directly acknowledged as such, and yet the solicitude of the local government never flagged. In addition to the guards always posted at the corner of the American Hong and Old China Street, others were stationed in various directions in the suburbs frequented by foreigners, in order that any Chinese who might be troublesome could be driven off, or that they could escort back to the Factories those who were uncertain of their whereabouts.

During the north-east monsoon fires were quite frequent in the densely populated suburbs lying north of the factories. When they threatened the foreign quarter the Hong merchants, acting in consonance with the known wishes of the Mandarins, would send gangs of armed coolies to assist in the removal to boats provided by them of books, papers, treasure, and personal effects. All strange Chinese would be ruthlessly driven from the Square, and an unobstructed passage to the boats secured. I have witnessed this repeatedly. Should a foreigner get into a disturbance in the street, and it was generally safe to say it was through his own fault, the Chinamen went to the wall. When a mob of many thousand ruffians invaded the Factory Square, as in November 1838, shortly preceding the opium surrender, and with stones and missiles of all sorts drove the foreigners inside their gates, which they were forced to barricade, a not unnatural anxiety prevailed amongst us as to what might be the result. Yet this attack was *caused by foreigners, who interfered with the Mandarins* while attempting to carry out Government orders.

All foreigners who came to Canton, from the first arrivals, were considered as having no other object than that of commerce. The English and the Dutch made their appearance in the first half of the seventeenth century; successively arrived, the Danes, Swedes, and Austrians (Imperialists). The Spaniards invited the Chinese to their new settlement at Manila for a time, and afterwards they themselves came to the provincial city.

Some amongst these different nationalities, tradition said the Dutch, had *red hair*, which led the Chinese facetiously to apply the term 'Red-

headed Devils' ever after to all foreigners alike. They themselves give to the whole of their own race the name of 'Black Hair'd.'

The authorities framed eight regulations for the especial government and control of these divers people from afar. They date from the year 1760, and are curious enough to recall. Never having been abrogated, they were assumed to be in force always. They were confirmed by an edict of the Emperor Kea-King in 1819, after a revision in 1810. Some of them came to be disregarded by the foreign community, particularly those referring to the Gardens, the Honam Temple, and pulling in their own boats on the river; but so far as regards women entering the Factories, an infringement of them in this essential particular took place in 1830, as will be seen hereafter. The chief sufferers in the event of a disregard of any important item of the regulations would of course be the Hong merchants. The 'Eight Regulations' were now and then brought to the Factories by a Linguist, as an intimation that they were not to be considered a 'dead letter.' Translated into English they read thus—

Regulation 1.—All vessels of war are prohibited from entering the Bogue. Vessels of war acting as convoy to merchantmen must anchor outside at Sea till their merchantships are ready to depart, and then sail away with them.

Regulation 2.—Neither women, guns, spears, nor arms of any kind can be brought to the Factories.

Regulation 3.—All river-pilots and ships' Compradores must be registered at the office of the "Tung-Che"* at Macao. That officer will also furnish each one of them with a licence, or badge, which must be worn around the waist. He must produce it whenever called for. All other boatmen and people must not have communication with foreigners, unless under the immediate control of the ships' Compradores; and should smuggling take place, the Compradore† of the ship engaged in it will be punished.

Regulation 4.—Each Factory is restricted for its service to 8 Chinese (irrespective of the number of its occupants), say 2 porters, 4 water-carriers, 1 person to take care of goods ('godown coolie'), and 1 ma-chen (intended for the foreign word 'merchant'), who originally performed all the duties of the 'House Compradore,' as he is styled to-day.

Regulation 5 prohibits foreigners from rowing about the river in their own boats for 'pleasure.' On the 8th, 18th, and 28th days of the moon 'they may take the air,' as fixed by the Government in the 21st year of Kea-King (1819). All ships' boats passing the Custom-houses on the river must be detained and examined, to guard against guns, swords, or firearms being furtively carried in them. On the 8th, 18th, and 28th days of the moon these foreign barbarians may visit the Flower Gardens and the Honam Joss-house,‡ but not in droves of over ten at one time. When they have 'refreshed' they must return to the Factories, not be

*An assistant-magistrate. Up to 1848 Macao was under the joint government of the Portuguese and Chinese.

†At this time the ships' Compradores were engaged at Macao, and not at Whampoa.

‡Buddhist Temple.

allowed to pass the night 'out,' or collect together to carouse. Should they do so, then, when the next 'holiday' comes, they shall not be permitted to go. If the ten should presume to enter villages, public places, or bazaars, punishment will be inflicted upon Linguist who accompanies them.

Regulation 6.—Foreigners are not allowed to present petitions. If they have anything to represent, it must be done through the Hong merchants.

Regulation 7.—Hong merchants are not to owe debts to foreigners. Smuggling goods to and from the city is prohibited.

Regulation 8.—Foreign ships arriving with merchandise must not loiter about outside the river; they must come direct to Whampoa. They must not rove about the bays at pleasure and sell to rascally natives goods subject to duty, that these may smuggle them, and thereby defraud His Celestial Majesty's revenue.

* * *

Originally there existed two English East India Companies, the oldest of which was incorporated in 1579. In the year 1600 they amalgamated, and received a charter from Queen Elizabeth. At the same time they assumed the title of the 'United East India Company,' and as a trade-mark, a heart with two transverse bars, bearing in the four divisions thus formed the letters V. E. I. C. This trade-mark had acquired such a well-merited reputation at Canton, that it was considered unnecessary to examine any package of merchandise that bore it. A simple exhibition of musters were made, when transactions were concluded, and the original packages forwarded unopened to all parts of the Empire. The Company's vessels first arrived at Canton between 1650 and 1660, and tea was first used in England in 1666.

By the Chinese the Company was known as Kung-Se; the characters signify "United Affairs." By the Canton community its representatives collectively were universally referred to as 'The Factory.' They were much more numerous than the members of any other establishment. In 1825, the 'Factory' consisted of Sir James Urmston, chief; Messrs. W. H. C. Plowden, Marjoribanks, and J. F. Davis, of whom two, with the chief, formed a select committee; of writers (as usually called) there were about twenty; an inspector of teas, Mr. Reeves; chaplain, the Rev. R. H. Vachell; surgeons, Pierson and Colledge; and an interpreter, the Rev. Dr. Robert Morrison.

The 'Factory' entertained with unbounded hospitality and in a princely style. Their dining-room was of vast dimensions, opening upon the terrace overlooking the river. On the left was a library, amply stocked, the librarian of which was Dr. Pierson; on the right a billiard-room. At one extremity of the dining-room was a life-size portrait of George IV. in royal robes, with crown and sceptre, the same that had been taken by the Embassy of Lord Amherst to Peking, offered to and refused by the

Emperor Keen-Lung, and brought to Canton overland. Opposite to it hung a smaller full-length portrait of Lord Amherst.

From the ceiling suspended a row of huge chandeliers, with wax lights; the table bore candelabra, reflecting a choice service amidst quantities of silver plate.

I was glad to have witnessed this sight, unique in that distant quarter of the world, to reach which the old adage would apply, 'it was not every one who could get to Corinth.' Soon after I landed at Canton, I had the honour of a first invitation to dine with the 'Factory,' and must confess that at my then age I accepted it with fear and trepidation. One of the *invité* from the Suy-Hong, Mr. Oliver H. Gordon, accompanied me. Our way led through the great outer gate, past the 'chapel,' whose spire bore conspicuously a large clock, the only one in Canton, and by which every one regulated his watch; then up a broad flight of stone steps to a verandah, crossing which one entered the library and reception-room as well. When the hosts and the guests had assembled, large folding doors were opened and we entered the noble dining-room, whose brilliancy and cheerfulness and gorgeously furnished table I see *now*. At the remote end of the room were grouped the Chinese servants of the Factory and of the guests, in caps and long robes, who immediately took up their places behind their respective masters as soon as seated.

About thirty gentlemen were present, including Mr. Bletterman, chief of the 'Maatschappay';* Mr. Holingworth Magniac, of the 'licensed' house of Magniac & Co. (predecessors of the present firm of Jardine, Matheson, & Co.); Mr. Thomas Dent, of another 'licensed' firm, Thomas Dent & Co.; and several of my own countrymen, including Mr. Benjamin C. Wilcox and John R. Latimer.

But the days of the Honourable East India Company were now unconsciously drawing to an end. It had existed for 250 years! It ceased as a 'commercial' body in 1833. Many members of the 'Factory' were then removed to India, and there took up civil appointments. Messrs. Astell and Clarke alone remained at Canton to close up outstanding affairs, and finally left in December 1839. Twenty-five more years were accorded to the Company, after 1833, to transfer to the Crown the splendid empire those enterprising merchants had founded in India, and in 1858 its sun set—politically.

Few now remain who witnessed the final breaking-up and departure of 'the Factory' from Canton; personally, there was much regret, as it had always been a marked feature in the community. The 'Outside' Merchants, unshackled from licences, hailed it as an auspicious day, opening

*The Dutch East India Company.

up to them vision of prosperity, which soon assumed the form and substance of reality. As an event to be placed 'on record,' as the Chinese say, the first 'free ship' with 'free teas' was loaded at Whampoa and despatched for London on March 22, 1834, by the still existing house of Messrs. Jardine, Matheson, & Co. The vessel was named the 'Sarah,' Captain Whiteside.

The principal teas shipped by the Company were Bohea and Congo. One may judge of their qualities by their selling in England from 'two shillings and six-pence up to sixty shillings per pound, while sound common Congo is selling to-day at six-pence farthing'! (Messrs. J. C. Sillar & Co.'s tea circular of February, 1881.) The Company imported English-made woollens and cottons and raw cotton from India. The most important of the licensed houses in 1825 were Magniac & Co., Thomas Dent & Co., Ilberry, Fearon & Co., Whiteman & Co., and Robertson, Cullen, & Co. (Colonel Fearon, who commanded the detachment of troops on board the East India Company's ship 'Kent,' burnt in the Bay of Biscay, 1825, on her way to Calcutta, was a brother of the Mr. Fearon just named.) Their transactions were with India, and in the aggregate on a very extensive scale. They received raw cotton from the three Presidencies; opium from Bombay and Calcutta; rice, pepper, tin, etc., from the Straits of Malacca. The local name for their business was the 'Country Trade,' the ships were 'Country Ships,' and the masters of them 'Country Captains.' Some of my readers may recall a dish which was often placed before us, when dining on board these vessels at Whampoa, viz., 'Country Captain.' The ships were 'Country' built as well, and of teak; they were not fast sailers, but comfortable and substantial. They made one voyage annually, rolling up the China Sea before the southwest monsoon and rolling down again with the north-east. Some of them, as the 'Sulimany,' the 'Fort William,' the 'Futty Salaam,' were not far from their eightieth birthday.

* * *

The Hong merchants (collectively, the Co-Hong) as a body corporate date from 1720. From that year, except for a short interval before 1725, they were the monopolists of the foreign trade. The principal ones, in 1825, were Houqua, Mouqua, Pwankeiqua, Pwansuylan, Chungqua, Kingqua, and Gouqua. The affix *qua*, which is usually supposed to be a part of the name, is simply a term of civility or respect, and is equivalent to Mister or Sir. The word means literally to 'manage' or 'control.' The number of the 'Co-Hong' was limited to thirteen.

Their establishments commenced on the creek already referred to, and extended eastward on the riverside, whereby the shipping off and landing of cargo were attended with great facilities. They were the 'warehouses' in which were received all the teas and silk from the interior,

and in which these articles were repacked, if necessary, weighed, matted, and marked, before being sent to the ships at Whampoa. The boats in which they were conveyed were of a peculiar build, with circular decks and sides, and from their resemblance to a melon they were called 'water-melons' by the Chinese, but by foreigners they were always referred to as 'chop-boats.' They were of the capacity of 500 chests of tea, or 500 piculs of weight. The orderly and intelligent despatch of business at the Hong was characteristic of the Chinese, as were the neatness of all packages and the dexterity with which they were handled.

The Hong merchants were the only ones officially recognised by the Government, and no goods bought of 'outside' Chinese could be shipped off except through one or the other of the 'Hong,' which received thereon a tax, and in whose name they were reported to the Hoppo. The 'outside' merchants had, however, become of great importance, their transactions were on an immense scale annually. As manufacturers of silks, of floor-matting, nankeens, crapes, grass-cloth, and a host of less important articles, many of them had amassed great wealth; at the same time, they were always assumed, officially, as confining themselves strictly to such things as were necessary for the 'personal use' of foreign residents. In fact, it was 'custom' from time to time for the authorities to remind them of this, and even to enumerate the things which they were only allowed to furnish. As a curiosity they may be recorded—clothing, umbrellas, straw hats, fans, shoes, and so on!

The Hong merchants were responsible to the Hoppo for the duties on all exports and imports. They alone transacted business with that officer's department—viz., the 'Customs'—by which foreigners were spared trouble and inconvenience. It may be as well to mention here that the 'Hoppo' (as he was incorrectly styled) filled an office especially created for the foreign trade at Canton. He received his appointment from the Emperor himself, and took rank with the first officers of the province. The Board of Revenue is in Chinese 'Hoo-poo,' and the office was locally misapplied to the officer in question.

As controllers of the entire foreign commerce of the port of Canton, which amounted annually to many millions of dollars, if the benefits derived therefrom were of vast importance, the responsibilities were also great. For infractions of 'regulations' by a ship or by her agents they were liable. It was assumed that they could, or should, control foreigners residing in the Factories as well as the vessels anchored at Whampoa. In both cases they were required to 'secure' due 'obedience.' Every resident therefore had his 'sponsor' from the moment of landing, as every ship had hers, and hence the Hong merchants became 'security merchants.' My own

was Houqua, who of course represented some others also, and in view of these mutual relationships we would jocularly call them 'our horse godfathers.'

The purchases of the East India Company were divided amongst the Hong merchants proportionately, in shares, of which fourteen fell to the lot of Houqua.

The position of Hong merchant was obtained through the payment of large sums of money at Peking. I have heard of as much as 200,000 taels, say 55,000*l.* sterling. If the 'license' thus acquired was costly, it secured to them uninterrupted and extraordinary pecuniary advantages; but, on the other hand, it subjected them to calls or 'squeezes' for contributions to public works or buildings, for the relief of districts suffering from a scarcity of rice, as for the often imaginary or over-estimated damage caused by the overflowing of the 'Yang-tsze-Keang,' or the 'Yellow River.'

'Well, Houqua,' you would say on some visit, 'hav got news to-day?' 'Hav got too muchee bad news,' he would reply, 'Hwang Ho hav spilum too muchee.' That sounded ominously. 'Man-ta-le† have come see you?' 'He no come see my, he sendee come one piece "chop." He come to-mollo. He wanchee my two-lac‡ dollar.' It was the old complaint, a 'squeeze,' and this time a formidable one. 'You pay he how muchee?' 'My pay he fitty, sikky tousand so.' 'But s'pose he no contentee?' 'S'pose he, number one, no contentee, my pay he one lac.' This actual incident will show the sort of demands upon the senior Hong merchant (each one being called upon in his turn) and their pecuniary importance. They knew at the same time that the object of the 'squeeze' was exaggerated, and, even if necessary, that only a modest portion would go to the repairs of the banks of the river, the mandarin thinking that his own personal wants were far more pressing. They might try to parry the question, they might succeed in getting the sum asked for diminished, but they could not escape. Payments would also be made by them to the Hoppo on the occasion of his return to Peking, on the appointment of a successor, as well as to the chiefs of the Revenue Board in that capital; but such as these had a *raison d'être*, they secured influence and protection, and besides, the sums paid were voluntary and comparatively moderate in amount.

As it added to their dignity and privileges, the Hong merchants purchased nominal rank, the insignia of which was denoted by a button or coloured globe attached to the apex of the cap. Of this they might be deprived for offences against the law or for bankruptcy; then a wearer

†'Man-ta-le'—Pigeon-English for 'Mandarin'.

‡A lac is 100,000.

of it in local parlance would be 'unbuttoned,' or deprived of this significant emblem of his social and public status.

The occupation of a 'merchant' in China is looked down upon by wealthy landed proprietors, by the *literati*, and by those who have risen to official rank through their own talents; but bankruptcy is considered degrading and even criminal.

Bankrupts are first deprived of any nominal rank they may possess before being so adjudged by law. Previous to my arrival at Canton one case of a bankrupt Hong merchant had taken place. The penalty for a member of the Co-Hong was transportation to I li. Only one other occurred during the remainder of the period of the existence of the Co-Hong. The last exiled bankrupt was Man-Ho. He had been a general favourite with the foreign community, was a person of courteous manners, and in every respect a well-bred and kindly man. He had borne on his cap the 'blue button' which denoted the third rank—principal—and it gave him the privilege of a certain title on his cards, &c. The books and affairs of his Hong passed into the charge of the Co-Hong for examination, the result proved most unsatisfactory, and when it was laid before the Hoppo he was declared bankrupt, and sentenced to transportation for life to I li (the present Kuldja), on the north-west frontier. It is commonly spoken of by the Canton Chinese as the 'Colo,'* country. Few know its geographical position. Preparations having been made for his departure, at a moment when some officials were leaving for that remote province, Man-Ho, with other condemned persons, was placed under their charge. The boats, having all these on board, anchored off the Factories. Many of his old Chinese and foreign friends went on board to say good-bye. One of the latter handed him a letter, in which was expressed sympathy for his misfortunes. And it added that a sum of money, subscribed by the Hong merchants and themselves for his personal comfort, had been placed with reliable servants of his own, who were accompanying him of their own accord. Neither the Government nor the Hoppo objects to such aid being rendered by relations and friends to one who by misfortune or bad management has incurred the penalty of the law, if not excessive. In the present case the amount was 10,000 dollars.

In a few hours after, the convoy left on one of the most dreary journeys that can be imagined. It occupied several months, involving constant transshipment to other boats, now over execrable roads in the most comfortless of bamboo chairs, then on pony back, and frequently on foot.

*Pigeon-English for 'cold.'

A very long time after his departure we heard, by the return of one of his servants, that Man-ho had been at first set to work as 'sweeper' in a temple, which he was able to compromise into a purely nominal 'office.' Again, that he had managed to get him sundry comforts, such as I li possessed, which is saying very little. Years passed, when we at once heard of his death and of the arrival of the body at Canton (in charge of the servants who had remained with him) for interment in his native place.

After Man-ho left Canton I saw, in the hands of one of the above foreign contributors, his promissory note for \$60,000, bearing interest at 5 per cent. per month. This was not exorbitant, under the circumstances in which it was given. The current rate of interest, with the best security, was 1 per cent. per month on running account, while 2 to 3 per cent. on temporary loans per month was common. . . .

As a body of merchants, we found them honourable and reliable in all their dealings, faithful to their contracts, and large-minded. Their private residences, of which we visited several, were on a vast scale, comprising curiously laid-out gardens, with grottoes and lakes, crossed by carved stone bridges, pathways neatly paved with small stones of various colours forming designs of birds, or fish, or flowers.

One of the most beautiful was that of Pwankeiqua, on the banks of the river, three or four miles west of the Factories. The number of servants in these private 'palaces,' as they would be called elsewhere, was very great, comprising, with those ordinarily in attendance, doorkeepers, messengers, palankin bearers, and choice cooks. We had occasional opportunities of judging of the skill of the latter by an invitation to a 'chopstick' dinner signifying that no foreign element would be found in it.

We would be served with such delicacies as birds'-nest soup,† with plovers' eggs and Bêche-de-Mer, curiously prepared sharks' fins and roasted snails; these forming but a very small proportion of the number of courses, which ended with pastry of different sorts. The liquids were wines prepared from rice, called 'Samshoo' also from green peas, from a fruit called Wang-pe, and others whose names we never knew. The wines were served in tiny silver or porcelain cups, each placed on handsomely worked silver stands.

These feasts were very enjoyable, even when their novelty had worn off; the host, full of *bonhomie* and politeness, never failing to escort us to the great outer gate on leaving, and place us under the charge of his coolies, who would there be waiting with large lanterns bearing his name to escort us back to the Factories.

†The best quality of birds' nests was brought from Java. This 'whimsical luxury' was worth 4,000 Spanish dollars per picul of 133-1/3 pounds.

It is not true, as has been supposed, that on these convivial occasions the guests were served with roast or boiled 'puppy' as a *bonne bouche*, and I am sure that the author of the following lines gave way to his imagination after a 'chopstick' dinner with 'green pea' wine when he wrote them, or to fortify a current joke:—

The feast spread out, the splendour round
Allowed the eye no rest;
The wealth of Kwang-Tung, of all Ind,
Appeared to great each guest.

All tongues are still; no converse free
The solemn silence broke;
Because, alas! friend Se-Ta-Che
No word of Chinese spoke.

Now here, now there, he picked a bit
Of what he could not name;
And all he knew was that, in fact,
They made him sick the same!

Mingqua, his host, pressed on each dish
With polished Chinese grace;
And much, Ming thought, he relished them,
At every ugly face!

At last he swore he'd eat no more,
'Twas written in his looks;
For, 'Zounds!' said he, 'the devil here
Sends both the meats and cooks!'

But, covers changed, he brightened up,
And thought himself in luck
When, close before him, what he saw
Looked something like a duck!

Still cautious grown, but, to be sure,
His brain he set to rack;
At length he turned to one behind,
And, pointing, cried: 'Quack, Quack.'

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The Chinese gravely shook his head,
Next made a reverend bow;
And then expressed what dish it was
By uttering, 'Bow-wow-wow!'

Numerous instances of munificence and generosity can be recorded on the part of the Hong merchants. I relate some of the *senior* one as illustrations. He would accept the direct consignment of an American ship, if it was commanded by an old friend. Such a one came to Whampoa, commanded by Captain C——, having on board a cargo consisting in a great measure of quick-silver. The price of this article was much depressed at the time. It was landed at Houqua's Hong and stored, he offering to take it at its market value. Several months elapsed, when the close of the south-west monsoon foretold 'business,' and the Factories began to look out for return cargoes for their ships of new teas daily arriving. Quicksilver still remained without demand. At the price it bore, a considerable deficiency would exist in the capacity of the vessel and the quantity of teas which could be bought with the proceeds. At the same time news had arrived of an improvement in prices at New York which exhibited a large profit. Captain C——, therefore, judging it better to sell his quick-silver and load with all the despatch he could with as many teas as it would purchase, closed the sale, which was, in commercial phraseology, 'puttee book' (duly recorded). Tea purchases were then immediately made, in the course of which Honqua said to his consignor, 'Olo flen,* you have a full cargo to return with; I will furnish it, you can pay my next voyage—you no trub' (give yourself no anxiety). Everything being thus definitely arranged, the vessel commenced loading, and was half full, when Houqua came to Captain C—— and informed him that a sudden demand had arisen for 'quick'‡ on the part of northern merchants returning to their provinces, that it had advanced materially in value, and he had been credited with the parcel he brought out *at the price of the day*; moreover, that he had cancelled on his books the first purchase. This generous act on the part of his consignee enabled Captain C—— to leave with a full cargo, all paid for, and made a difference in the out-turn of his voyage of nearly 30,000 dollars. This information I received some years after at Canton from Captain C—— himself.

An American gentleman, who had resided many years at Canton, and had possessed a considerable fortune, met with serious losses. The hope of regaining it induced him to continue operations, in which he was

*Pigeon-English for 'old friend.'

‡Pigeon-English for 'quicksilver.'

materially assisted by Houqua. They had been, as was usually said, in the words of the place, 'olo flen.' Time passed, considerable sums were placed at the disposal of Mr. W——, no reference being made to them by the Hong merchant, until, at the end of a second or third year, Houqua's and his accounts were compared, and the balance in favour of Houqua was 72,000 dollars. For this amount he took a promissory note and it was locked up in his strong box. From knowing Chinese, I was often behind the scenes on similar occasions, not that the holder had any doubt of irregularity on the part of the signers, but simply to translate them into his language for his own satisfaction. It may be stated here that not a single Chinese then existed at Canton who could read or write English. I found that these notes bore simply the endorsement of sum and date with the names of the drawers. Time still went on; Mr. W—— had frequently expressed a desire to return to the United States, but hoped that a 'good turn' would take place in his affairs and enable him to cancel his note. It was cancelled in a most unexpected manner!

One day, when on a visit to his Chinese friend, the latter said, 'You have been so long away from your own country, why do you not return?' To which Mr. W—— replied that it was impossible—he could not cancel his note, and this alone would prevent him. Houqua enquired if the bond, only, kept him in Canton, and if he had not some means wherewith to provide for a residence at home? The answer was that no other debts existed, and he was not without resources—but the note!! Houqua summoned his purser, and ordered him to bring the envelope containing promissory notes from the treasury. Taking out that of Mr. W——, he said, 'You and I are No. 1, "olo flen;" you belong honest man, only no got chance.'† He then tore the note up, and throwing the fragments into the waste-paper basket, added, 'Just now hav settee counter, alla finishee; you go, you please.' That is to say, 'Our accounts are now all settled, you can leave when you like.'

When the English troops, under Sir Hugh Gough, on May 21, 1841, had taken up a position on the heights north of the city walls, and were prepared to attack, they were prevented doing so by a despatch from Captain Elliot, the British Superintendent of Trade at Canton, then on board the cutter 'Louisa,' lying off the Factories. He informed Sir Hugh Gough that the city had consented to pay a ransom of six millions of dollars, and directed him to return to the ships in the river with the forces. This was a judicious and humane arrangement, brought about by Captain Elliot. Had the city been entered, the loss of life would have been dreadful, to say nothing of the destruction of houses and property. There would, moreover, have been but little glory to gain, as it was in a state of defence utterly

†'Unfortunate.'

inadequate to resist 2,200 English soldiers and sailors. The authorities of the city, having concluded the arrangement for the ransom, began at once to look about for money, and as usual *reminded* the Hong merchants that something liberal was expected of them.

They contributed 2,000,000 dollars, of which Pwankeiqua gave 260,000, Houqua 1,100,000 and the others 640,000. A belief exists amongst the Chinese that there is an invisible agency influencing man's career in life, which they call 'Fung Shuy,' literally 'wind and water.' A striking illustration of this belief was brought out on this occasion. Houqua availed himself of the *accident* of contributing, to express his gratitude to 'wind and water' for notable incidents in his own life, and in this way, mentally, he apportioned his donation. For himself, in recognition of his 'prosperity,' 800,000 dollars; for his eldest son, 200,000 dollars for unswerving piety; and 100,000 dollars for his youngest son, who happened to be born when he himself had just completed the full term of a 'cycle,' or sixty years. This is considered a very happy coincidence, or 'number one Fung Shuy.' For the total sum, Captain Elliot was handed three promissory notes, drawn by Messrs. Russell & Co. at thirty days' date in favour of Houqua, by whom they were endorsed to his order. Captain Elliot deposited them for collection with Messrs. Jardine, Matheson, & Co. and Dent & Co. These firms had removed their offices to Macao, as well as Messrs. Russell & Co. The notes were for 400,000, 400,000, and 300,000 dollars respectively. At this time the last-named house held about two and a half millions of dollars belonging to their constituent, the endorser. As an instance of the just pride Houqua took in his remarkable position and of his commercial sagacity, a few days before the maturity of the three notes a letter was received from him in Chinese at Macao, which read thus:—

'Benevolent Elder Brother,*—The notes endorsed by me to Elut,† as you know, will soon be due. Offer to pay them at once. You will see by calculating that if the money is now accepted there will be a gain of over nine hundred dollars by the discount. May all your days be as one.'

Messrs. Jardine, Matheson, & Co. and Dent & Co. were immediately communicated with, the notes came in for payment, and were cashed, less the discount, which amounted to a little short of a thousand dollars! The next time I saw Houqua in Canton he talked merrily over the close of the transaction, and said, 'My all same, "Ba-Blo." '‡ The old gentleman liked to compare himself with that famous house with which, through Messrs. Russell & Co., he had had for years important business.

*A complimentary term.

†Captain Elliot.

‡Baring Brothers & Co.

Demands of money on the Co-Hong never ceased. One instance was a requirement by the Viceroy that they should pay off the indebtedness of their own number to 'outside barbarians.' They were Hingtai, Mouqua, and Kingqua. Houqua then paid \$1,000,000, Pwankeiqua \$130,000, Pwan Hoyqua \$70,000, Samua and Saoqua each \$50,000, Footai \$90,000. I mention this circumstance as a feature of 'Old Canton'; it being a measure taken to prevent complications with Governments beyond the sea.

In contrast to the style of official language, private letters from the Hong merchants left nothing to be desired in civility. Here is one of many. In the year 1837, a few of us younger members of the community established the 'Canton Regatta Club,' for boat-pulling and sailing on the river, our chief amusements and mode of taking the air. Nothing like a club had yet existed. Presently the Hong merchants, in virtue of their office as 'guardians' of our persons, as well as our 'securities' in the eyes of the local government, on hearing of the club organisation, being apprehensive of accidents, they wrote this letter to one of the members:—

'Ham Tak, venerable old gentleman,—We beg respectfully to inform you that we have heard of the intention of our respected elder brother and other chinte-le-mun§ to race boats on the river. We know not if this is true, but heretofore it has not been custom. Should the authorities hear of this, we your younger brothers would be reproved, not mildly, for permitting you to act so indiscreetly. On the river, boats are mysteriously abundant; everywhere they congregate in vast numbers; like a stream they advance and retire unceasingly. Thus the chances of contact are many, so are accidents, even to the breaking of one another's boats, to the injury of men's bodies, while more serious consequences might ensue.

'We therefore beseech our worthy senior* to make known to the other chin-te-le-mun that they would do well to refrain from contesting the speed of their boats on the river, so that after troubles may not accumulate. Then all will be well. Daily may your prosperity increase, without difference.

'(Signed)

'HOUQUA, MOUQUA, PWANKEIQUA,' AND OTHERS.

The amount of Houqua's fortune was frequently a subject of debate; but on one occasion, in referring to it in connection with his various investments in rice-fields, dwellings, shops, and the banking establishments known as shroffs, and including his American and English shipments, he estimated it, in 1834, at twenty-six millions of dollars. Assuming the purchasing power of money at that time as being but twice greater than at the present day, it would now represent a sum of \$52,000,000. He was a person of

§Pigeon-English for 'gentlemen.'

*A complimentary term.

remarkably frugal habits (as regards his style of living) from choice and from being of a feeble frame of body. His generosity was boundless, and in accounts he was singularly methodical and precise, never multiplying them beyond what was absolutely necessary. The two or three rooms which he occupied during hours of business in his vast well-regulated Hong were furnished with simplicity itself.

He withdrew from general business with the foreign community after the Honourable East India Company left Canton, and confined himself exclusively to the house of Messrs. Russell & Co. Through them his foreign business was entirely managed. His yearly shipments to London of those celebrated Chops of Congo, grown on his family estates in the Woo-E country, were well known and appreciated in the English market. His transactions were on a very important scale, and he entrusted them to his Canton agents, through whom they were carried out, with the well-merited confidence which they inspired. They embraced England, the United States, and India. As another illustration of his generous nature, I may refer to an affair that took place nearly fifty years ago, in which his orders were not complied with. We had shipped a cargo, principally of raw silk belonging to himself, which he had ordered from the silk country. It was sold at a large profit. His instructions were that the proceeds should be returned in East India Co. bills on Calcutta. To our surprise and his disappointment, the result of the sale was invested in a cargo of British goods. It was as injudicious an arrangement (free trade then beginning) to ship largely of English manufactures as his own shipment was sagacious, for but little silk was exported immediately after the opening of the trade. The result showed a difference of many thousand dollars to his detriment. On the deviation of orders becoming known Houqua was at once informed that he should not suffer for this breach of instructions, and for the loss we would credit his account.

The old gentleman replied, 'My consider, my show you to-mollo'—that is to say, he would think it over and let us know his decision 'to-morrow.' The following day he was at the office, and this was his decision, which he emphasised by striking the floor with his cane—Write to Mr. C——* and tell him he must be more careful in future, 'must take care.' He accepted the woollens, and refused to accept any indemnity.

This last chief of the world-renowned 'Co-Hong,' which ceased with the treaties after an existence of 130 years, died at Honam on September 4, 1843, aged seventy-four, having been born in the same year with Napoleon and Wellington, 1769.

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*One of our partners whom we had sent to London. Lord Byron once wrote of him to Murray as full of 'Entusymusy;' so we called him 'Tusymusy.'

Next to the Hong merchants, other Chinese were closely allied to the foreign community as 'Linguists'—so called, as it used to be remarked, because they knew nothing of any language but their own. They were appointed by the Hoppo to act as interpreters, and were duly licensed. Besides, this was in accordance with the orders of the Peking Government. As up to treaty days, neither Consul nor Vice-Consul of a foreign nation was 'officially' acknowledged, whenever either one of these officers made a communication to the Hoppo it had to be done through the Hong merchants, to whom the despatch was taken by a Linguist. The reply would be addressed to these merchants, who were directed to make known the answer to the 'Chief' of the nation, that 'he might reverently inform himself of it and be duly obedient' (a matter of form).

The principal Linguists were 'Old Tom,' 'Young Tom'† and 'Alantsae.' They were at the head of numerous assistants employed in the ordinary business of foreigners, such as attending upon Mandarins from inside the city while examining merchandise being landed or shipped off, and making up reports of the duties for those officers to take to the Hoppo's office for registration and subsequent collecting. Their duties were by no means light. They were liable to be summoned at any moment, night or day, in connection with the multifarious matters in which their services were required. They were always ready and ever willing, and proved a wonderful convenience to the community at large. Through them we applied for permits when going on a trip to Macao, for the shipping off of an entire cargo of teas or for landing one of foreign goods. All details of whatever nature were regulated and attended to by them. By law and 'old regulations,' on an excursion on the river, to the 'flower gardens' a few miles off, or to the Great Buddhist Temple at Honam, opposite the Factories, a Linguist *should* personally attend. One was also at our disposal for a visit to any other place to which the 'regulations' or 'old custom' permitted us to go. It may be added at the same time that the 'regulations' which required his personal presence on such occasions were not strictly enforced, but they were never abolished. The object of the Mandarins in enjoining upon the Linguists that one of them should accompany foreigners in their walks or boating excursions was from the best of motives—that these should not lose their way or become involved in collisions with the people arising from ignorance of one another's language. It was the duty of a Linguist to distribute amongst the Factories any Government proclamations having reference to their affairs, relating to vessels at Whampoa or the 'receiving ships' at Lintin. In regard to these last the Linguist would 'translate it,'

†Their Chinese names were Tan and Tung, but these words not being readily distinctive to the foreign ear, they both became Tom, while 'Old' and 'Young' were added to suit their respective ages.

and point out that the 'Man-ta-lee' said, 'if they did not immediately get up their anchors and return to their own countries or come to Whampoa, cruisers would be sent down to drive them away, and no more patience manifested.' Then would come the time-honoured question of 'You savee?' or, 'Do you understand?' with the usual addition of, 'This time the Mandarin is *really* in earnest.' The precious document would then be deposited in the leg of his stocking or in his boot (the customary receptacles), and with 'My chin-chin you's' he would pass on to our next-door neighbour.

During the shipping season, from October to March, the Linguist of a ship in course of loading would be summoned in the evening to a foreign counting-room (if necessity required), and was frequently detained until long after midnight while lists of teas to be shipped off in the morning were being prepared. With these lists he would then be obliged to go to perhaps several Honges, to see that the teas were in readiness and 'chop' boats ordered to convey them to Whampoa. These duties often involved a whole night's work, but no sign of impatience or inattention was shown. When a vessel was ready to be measured, the Linguist informed the Hoppon, who then ordered an officer to Whampoa 'to attend to this duty', and he was always attended by a member of the Linguists' establishment called the 'mandarin' or 'official' Linguist. Should she be under despatch, the Linguist furnished the agent with a memorandum of the 'Measurement and Cumsha' charges, and at her final departure he brought to his office the 'grand chop,' or port clearance, which was only delivered to him when he had furnished the Hoppon with receipts or certificates of the import and export duties having been paid, and satisfied him that all formalities had been fulfilled. When a fire broke out near the Factories they were immediately in attendance.

They were, as a body, 'our all in all.' The senior Linguist, popularly known as 'Old Tom,' was a remarkable man, both physically and mentally, one whose calmness and self-possession never forsook him. Whether threatened by the authorities or scolded by foreigners, he never gave way to ill-humour. He was wonderfully adroit in making everything smooth with the mandarins and pleasant to the 'outside barbarians,' even in questions the most irreconcilable.

Each vessel anchoring at Whampoa incurred a Linguist fee of \$250. For every chop-boat landing her inward cargo, \$15.22. Her outward cargo was taken to her by the sellers of it, at their own risk and expense.

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The most important Chinese within the Factory was the Compradore. He was secured by a Hong merchant in all that related to good conduct generally, honesty and capability. All Chinese employed in any factory,

§'My compliments to you.'

whether as his own 'pursers,' or in the capacity of servants, cooks, or coolies, were the Compradore's 'own people,' they rendered to him every 'allegiance,' and he 'secured' them as regards good behaviour and honesty. This was another feature that contributed to the admirable order and safety which characterised life at Canton. The Compradore also exercised a general surveillance over everything that related to the internal economy of the 'house,' as well as over outside shopmen, mechanics, or tradespeople employed by it. With the aid of his assistants, the house and private accounts of the members were kept. He was the purveyor for the table, and generally of the personal wants of the 'Tai-pans' and pursers.‡

The treasury in which all the cash and valuables were kept was under his charge, which was no light matter, as with some houses the amount of cash was extremely large, frequently over a million of dollars and rarely under \$150,000 to \$200,000. During the dull season, from April to October, the principal books of accounts, all important correspondence and letter books were also deposited in it. For many years after 1824, no such thing as a copying machine was known; all copying was done by hand, and this exacted greater care of business letters and papers, while as no Banks existed in the old days, each house was its own banker. The position of a Compradore was therefore one of great responsibility, and I never knew of but one betraying the trust reposed in him. Although his pay was comparatively small, say \$250 or \$300 per annum (the pay of our own was raised to \$500), his perquisites, from sources which had long been in existence, and had become 'olo custom,' were very important. As the balance of the American trade was greatly in favour of China, large quantities of Spanish and Mexican dollars were yearly imported to make up the deficiency arising from comparatively little other import cargo. Teas and silks, and many minor articles coming under the general head of 'Chow-chow,' were brought for cash. Thus every ship from the United States brought largely of dollars at times—as in the case of the 'Citizen,' \$350,000, while in 1831 three vessels alone brought \$1,100,000. Added to these supplies, opium was invariably sold for cash, and so were bills on London when they came into use; consequently all this money passed primarily through the hands of the Compradore. He derived a profit from the process of *shroffing* which

‡The chief of a foreign house was known as 'Tai-pan.' The word signifies 'head manager.' The assistants or clerks were called 'pursers.' This word was undoubtedly taken from the office of 'purser,' whom the Chinese had only known as transacting business for the commanders of the East India Company's ships. The latter enjoyed the privilege of forty tons of space (English measurement) in each vessel homeward, which involved the presence at Canton of the 'pursers' to act for them in selling their outward and buying their homeward investments. The 'pursers' frequently hired a portion of a Factory (when to be had), and resided in it more or less while their ships were at Whampoa.

it underwent before being deposited in the treasury; but after the goodness of a parcel and its exact amount were ascertained, he was liable for any bad money that might afterwards be found amongst it. He paid the Shroff one-tenth of a dollar per one thousand for examining it, while the fixed charge by the Compradore was one-fifth. This formed an important sum. Another one of his perquisites was five copper cash (about a halfpenny) per dollar on all payments, no matter to whom or on what account, of odd sums less than one thousand dollars, which charge was borne by the payee. He also derived benefit from loans or advances made to 'Outside' Chinese merchants (and from them) on contracts for silks and other merchandise entered into with his employers, while on all Factory supplies he received also a percentage. In the year 1823 occurred the first and only robbery by a Compradore that came under my knowledge. He was in the service of one of the two most important of the American houses, then occupying No. 3 of the Suy Hong. He had made use of a large sum belonging to the firm for his own speculations, and it was accidentally discovered. Mr. A—the then chief of the house, went directly to Houqua, the Compradore's 'security,' and reported the loss. The man himself was sent for, and, greatly to the indignation of his patron, confessed to having used the money for speculation, intending to replace it, but the unexpected examination by Mr. A—had not allowed him time to do so. Houqua sent the deficiency to the firm the same evening. It was over \$50,000.

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We have seen who and what were the Co-Hong, the Outside Chinese merchants, the Linguists and Compradores, and what their respective relations with foreigners were. There now remains the *Shroff*, or money dealer, whose services were indispensable, particularly in receipts. They were manifest daily and hourly in the broad arched passages passing through the Factories, along which, as was constantly said, one could never move without seeing heaps of silver being examined and hearing its metallic ring as successive quantities were poured in and out of copper scales. Scarcely a day or even an hour passed without this glittering accompaniment of old Canton life.

Pieces of silver as well as dollars were shroffed and weighed before being deposited in the treasury. When that was done, dollars had no longer a distinct existence, for in commerce the Chinese treat silver and gold as they do lead, iron, or copper. In this they show a characteristic good sense, and are rewarded by it in the facility with which all money transactions are carried on. As the result of long experience, the imported dollar was found to be worth 717/1000 taels in weight, and this became the standard in all current book accounts. No coined money exists in the Empire except copper cash, with which every one is familiar. The use of it is confined

to the daily wants of the people, and it never enters into transactions of importance, except when money-changers replenish their stocks. The convenience of such a circulating medium gives facility to every one, no matter how humble his requirements, and was a wise piece of legislation. The obverse of the coin bears the name of the Emperor during whose reign it was made, in Chinese characters, with two others which mean 'circulating value.'* Commerce, on the other hand, stood in need of a larger representative of value, and this was supplied by gold and silver bars or lumps in portable sizes. Bar gold bears a small proportion to bar silver in quantity, and is in oblong pieces usually of ten taels in weight, and silver† in oval lumps called 'shoes' of various sizes and values. There is no Government interference in the manufacture of these bars and shoes for purposes of trade, no more than there is of any other metal, while the guarantee of their purity and value is simply the stamp of the Shroff or money house by which they are issued.

As a natural consequence of the non-existence of gold or silver coin, imported dollars, from being continually weighed and stamped when passing from hand to hand, became 'chopped dollars' or 'cut money' in Canton phraseology, the first from being stamped by the Shroff on examining them, with any character which he may select, and which is his guarantee of goodness. In the shapeless form which they thus acquire, payments are made by weight in taels, and its component parts of mace, candareens, and cash.§ This custom of weighing metals has existed in China since 903 A.D. If any money stamped by a Shroff on examination proved bad, it was exchanged by him, but such cases were extremely rare. A small pair of scales for money transactions is generally carried by Chinese, attached to a waist-belt.

Shroffs examined all amounts brought to them by any one, but went to the foreign Factories, to the Hong merchants or other customers, when required. The charge was small, and the amount of silver passing yearly through their hands was enormous, as amongst the Chinese all transactions were for money or its representative.‡ Shroffs were also 'changers'—providing when required either Sycee, chopped dollars, or gold—as well as bankers, making loans or receiving depositis. The floors of their shops are covered with brown tiles, and at the end of the year they can sell the privilege of removing the floor for the chance of finding scraps of silver which may have escaped through the interstices of the tiles, the buyer of

*Since the Conquest the reverse bears the name of the Emperor in Mancho Tartar letters.

†Known as 'Sycee,' which means literally 'fine silk.'

§10 cash=1 candareen, 10 candareen=1 mace, 10 mace=1 tael.

‡Bar gold, Sycee silver, chopped dollars.

the privilege replacing the floor at his own cost. I have heard of as much as fifty taels (about \$70) being paid to an important Shroffshop for such a transaction.

Several descriptions of dollars were imported from 1825, previous to which time the most numerous were those of Carolus IV. of Spain. These kept the preference about all others, and were currently known as 'Old Heads.' So accustomed were the Chinese to this dollar, that when Carolus III. or Ferdinand VII. were offered, they were taken with reluctance, while the 'Old Head' commanded a premium, and it thus became an exception to the general rule of 'breaking up.' For a long time they had been taken by dealers in raw silk from the middle provinces, in whole dollars, and finally so much prejudice existed in their favour that they would take no others except as cut money. This caused them to advance in value to 10 and even 15 per cent.; finally, during one season, we sold to the senior Hong merchant \$60,000 at a premium of 30 per cent., receiving in exchange \$78,000 in cut money. Ferdinand VII.'s dollars became 'New Heads,' and next came into favour, there being a diminishing supply of the 'Old,' but they were never at more than 1 to 2 per cent. premium. Of other kinds there were Chilian, Peruvian, Mexican, and United States, which were submitted to the process of breaking up, and were never in greater favour with the Chinese than cut money. They were not 'old custom,' and they could not reconcile themselves to the new effigies or legends which they bore. Now and then, if wanted for a special occasion, Mexican dollars could be passed at a small premium, say 1 or 1½ per cent. It is very probable, as often supposed, that the Shroffs had much to do with these varied transactions; they were behind the scene and perhaps they had, as many of the establishments belonged to wealthy proprietors, who used them for purposes of speculation in money.

Book accounts, as has been said, were kept in dollars and cents by foreign houses, at the conventional rate of 717/1000 of a tael per dollar. There was but one exception, that of the English East India Company, which adopted the more rational system of Chinese currency. Payments for raw silk were made at 750/100, for teas 720/100, musk 750/000 as well as for some kinds of opium. As all Chinese produce went by weight, even raw and manufactured silk, and as all computations were in decimals, this system contributed to the ease with which business was carried on.

* * *

Pigeon-English is the well-known name given to that unique language through the medium of which business was transacted and all intercourse exclusively carried on between the 'Western Ocean' foreigners and Canton Chinese. For years after my arrival but three foreign residents were Chinese scholars—namely, Doctor Morrison; the present Sir John Francis

Davis, the last Chief of the English East India Company's establishment; and one American, myself—while 'Pigeon-English' had grown up with the early days of foreign intercourse with the port of Canton. It is not difficult to arrive at the creation of this particular and strange language. Foreigners came to Canton for a limited period, and would not or could not apply themselves to the study of so difficult a language as the Chinese, of which even a sufficiency for commonplace purposes was not easy to acquire, and if acquired would be useless anywhere else. The local government also placed serious obstacles in the way of learning it, to the length of beheadings a Chinese teacher for giving lessons. This is on the authority of Dr. Morrison, who related to me an instance that took place before I arrived, and he further informed me that for years after his own arrival in 1807 he was obliged, as a protection to his own teacher, to study at night in a room with lights carefully screened.

On the other hand, the shrewd Chinaman succeeded in supplying this absence of the knowledge of his own language by cleverly making himself familiar with *sounds* of foreign words, and conforming them to his own monosyllabic mode of expression, at the same time using simple Chinese words to express their meaning. He thus created a language, as it may be called, deprived of syntax, without the logic of speech, and reduced to its most simple elements. It took firm root, became the conventional medium of intercourse in respect to transactions of enormous value and magnitude, and exists in all its vigour and quaintness to this day.

It was undoubtedly an invention of the Chinese, and long anterior to the appearance of the English at Canton in its origin, as may be proved by the admixture of Portuguese and Indian words still to be found in it, the latter having probably been originally made known by those primary visitors from the Western world *via* India. The English came more than a hundred years after; words from their language were then gradually incorporated, and increased with the disappearance of the Portuguese, who confined themselves to their own growing colony of Macao, until, finally, the former became the principal traders, and thus this language became known as Pigeon-English.

The word 'pigeon' is simply a corruption of 'business,' and with its companion means *business*-English. Of Portuguese origin we have the most undoubted proof in such words as *mandarin*, from *mandar*, to order; *compradore*, from *compra*, to buy; *joss*, from *Deos*; *pa-te-le*, from *padre*; *maskee*, from *masqué*, never mind; *la-le-loon*, from *ladrao*, a thief; *grand*, from *grande*, the chief, as, for instance, 'grand chop;' *junk*, from the Portuguese sound of *Chueng* in the dialect of the East Coast, where they first traded. Of Indian words we have *bazaar*, a market; *Shroff*, money-dealer;

chunam, lime; *tiffin*, luncheon; *godown*, from *ka-dang*; *lac*, one hundred thousand; *cooly*, a labourer; *chit*, a note or letter; *bungalow*, a cottage; *kaarle*, curry, and others.

Some peculiarities of expression and application of two words constantly used in Pigeon-English may be mentioned. The language was by no means confined to those of foreign, but it contained quite a vocabulary of words of Chinese, origin; it was, in fact, a very mixed tongue. 'Chop,' for instance, is of perpetual occurrence. It is the same as 'cho,' which signifies literally any 'document.' A shopkeeper's bill is a 'chop,' so is an Imperial edict or a Mandarin's proclamation; a cargo-boat is a chop-boat; it does duty also for a promissory note, a receipt, a stamp or seal, a license for shipping off or to land cargo, a mark for goods, or a permit. 'First quality' is expressed by 'first chop,' and an inferior according to quality is No. 6, 8, or 10 'chop,' the worst of all. When a cooly is sent on an errand requiring haste, he is told to go 'chop-chop.' A 'first chop' man speaks for itself, so does 'bad chop man.'

The variety of uses to which the compound word 'chow-chow' is put is almost endless, and in some cases have a directly opposite meaning. For instance, a 'No. 1 chow-chow' thing signifies 'utterly worthless,' but when applied to a breakfast or dinner it means 'unexceptionally good.' A 'chow-chow' cargo is an assorted cargo; a general shop is a 'chow-chow' shop; provisions of all kinds are classed under the general head of 'chow-chow;' and, as may have been remarked in the list of the Factories, one was called the 'Chow-chow' from its being inhabited by divers Parsees, Moormen, or other natives of India.

Although by the Chinese all foreigners were called 'Fan Kwaes,' or 'Foreign Devils,' still a distinction of the drollest and most characteristic kind was made between them. The English became 'Red-haired devils'; the Parsees, from the custom of shaving their heads, were 'White-head devils'; Moormen were simply 'mo-lo devils.' The Dutch became 'Ho-lan,' the French 'Faclan-sy,' and the Americans 'Flowerly-flag devils.' The Swedes were 'Suy' and the Danes 'Yellow-flag devils.' The Portuguese have never ceased to be 'Se-yang kwae,' thus retaining the name first applied to them on their arrival from the 'Western Ocean' (which the words signify), while their descendants, natives of Macao, are 'Omum kwae,' or 'Macao devils' from the Chinese name of the town.

In the Canton book-shops near the Factories was sold a small pamphlet, called 'Devils' Talk.' On the cover was a drawing of a foreigner in the dress of the middle of the last century—three-cornered hat, coat with buckles, lace sleeves, and in his hand a cane. I have now one of these pamphlets before me. It commences thus, 'Yun,' and under it is its

'barbarian' definition, expressed in another Chinese word whose *sound* is 'man.' After many examples of this kind come words of two syllables—thus, 'kum-yat,' with their foreign meaning expressed by two other Chinese characters pronounced 'to-teay' to-day—and so on to sentences, for which the construction of the language is peculiarly adapted. This pamphlet, costing a penny or two, was continually in the hands of servants, coolies, and shopkeepers. The author was a Chinaman, whose ingenuity should immortalise him. I have often wondered who the man was who first reduced the 'out-landish tongue' to a current language. Red candles should be burnt on altars erected to his memory, and oblations of tea poured out before his image, placed among the wooden gods which in temples surround the shrine of a deified man of letters.

* * *

Although during the south-west monsoon little general business went on, transactions in Opium were very active. It was the period when the new drug arrived. Sales were made to brokers for cash (only) against orders on the receiving ships. The orders would be sent down by 'smug boats,'* which carried the Opium to its several destinations. These boats, of a peculiar build, were of great length and beam, the latter increasing rather disproportionately abaft to give quarters to brokers' agents who always went with them. The crews numbered from sixty to seventy men, who, like all Chinese boatmen, were singularly good sailors, intelligent and very active. They plied the oars sitting on low benches ranged on both sides of the deck, while additional propelling power was provided in an enormous mainsail and a foresail made of mats, bamboos, and rattans. The armament was one large gun in the bows, swivels, spears, and flint-lock muskets purchased from foreign vessels. The 'smug boats' differed from Government cruisers in a less powerful armament, smaller crew, and in the hull being bright varnished instead of painted 'black and red,' which are the colours of the latter.

On delivery of the opium, the receiving ships were paid five dollars per chest,† which was called 'cumsha' (literally 'gold sand'), and two dollars for 'demurrage' if the order was not presented within seven days. It was always repacked, before being taken from the ship, in mat bags, then marked with the owner's private sign and the weight. At times as many as one hundred chests, in bulk, would form a single cargo, whose market value was from \$150,000 to \$200,000. The Canton agent received five, afterwards reduced to three per cent. commission on sales. The time occupied in unpacking, weighing, and repacking would occupy but a few hours. The crews of the receiving ships were mostly Manila men and some Lascars,

*The Chinese called these boats "scrambling dragons" and "fast crabs."

†A chest contained 1 picul=133-1/3 pounds.

while the shroffs, carpenters, and boats' crews, cooks and servants were Chinese.

It is needless to say the opium trade was prohibited by Imperial edicts as well as by proclamations of the Canton authorities. The Chinese who dealt in 'foreign mud'‡ were threatened even with capital punishment, but so perfect a system of bribery existed (with which foreigners had nothing whatever to do) that the business was carried on with ease and regularity. Temporary interruptions occurred, as, for instance, on the installation of newly-arrived magistrates. Then the question of fees arose; but was soon settled, unless the new-comer was exorbitant in his demands, or, as a broker would express it, 'too muchee foolo'—i.e. 'the man is crazy.' In good time, however, all would be arranged satisfactorily, the brokers reappeared with beaming faces, and 'peace' and immunity reigned in the land.

Opium was never found for sale in Chinese shops at Canton; nor were there any signs by which one could judge where it was prepared for sale or for smoking, it being used in no other form.

The Canton officials rarely made any reference to the Lintin station; but sometimes, compelled by form to do so, would issue a proclamation ordering vessels 'loitering at the outer anchorage' either to come into port or sail away to their own countries, lest the 'dragons of war' should be opened, and with their fiery discharges annihilate all who opposed this, a 'special edict.'

Another branch of the opium trade was on the East Coast, where vessels of moderate size, belonging to two foreign houses at Canton, were stationed, say, near Amoy, Chin-Chew, Cup-Chee, and the island of Namoa. They received supplies by brigs and schooners (all in this business being known as 'coasters'), which, starting from Lintin, touched at the anchorages above on going up to deliver, and on their return collecting the proceeds of sales. As an opportunity offered to get a practical experience of this trade, which was carried on with all the secrecy possible by the few engaged in it, I availed myself of a suggestion from the house to take a run up to Namoa. We owned at the time a Boston clipper schooner called the 'Rose,' which, in 1837, was about leaving for that anchorage with a quantity of opium sold at Canton for delivery there, and an additional number of chests to try the market. The whole cargo consisted of nearly 300 chests, of the Canton value of about \$300,000. I joined the vessel at Capshuymun from Macao with an English gentleman, my guest there, whom I invited to accompany me. The 'Rose' was soon ready for sea; we made sail and started with a moderate south-west monsoon. She was a foretopsail

‡Often so-called in official language.

schooner of about 150 tons register, with her scuppers within two feet of the water. The weather proved delightful, the wind steady, and the sea smooth. We kept an eye upon the barometer, it being the taiphoon season, and a sharp look-out upon the fleet of 'fishing boats' which covered the waters, and the crews of which were peaceable fishermen or cut-throat pirates according to circumstances.

We anchored on the inside of the island of Namoa on the third day, close by two English brigs, the 'Omega'[§] and 'Governor Findlay.'^{**} Inshore of us were riding at anchor two men-of-war junks, with much bunting displayed; one bore the flag of a 'Foo-Tseang' or Commodore. Knowing the 'formalities' to be gone through with the Mandarins, we expected a visit from one, and until it was made no Chinese boat would come alongside, nor would a junk, not even a bumboat. We had no sooner furled sails and made everything ship-shape, when 'his Excellency' approached in his 'gig,' a sort of *scow* as broad as she was long. Besides the oarsmen, there were official and personal attendants, in grass cloth with conical rattan hats and flowing red silk cord surrounding them to the brim. He himself sat majestically in an arm-chair smoking quietly. A large embroidered silk umbrella was held over his head, while servants with fans protected him from the attacks of flies and mosquitoes. He was received at the gangway by Captain Forster. His manner and bearing were easy and dignified. When cheroots and a glass of wine had been offered, the 'Commodore' enquired the cause of our anchoring at Namoa. The Shroff* gave him to understand that the vessel, being on her way from Singapore to Canton, had been compelled, through contrary winds and currents, to run for Namoa to replenish her wood and water. Having listened attentively, the great man said that 'any supplies might be obtained, but when they were on board, not a moment must be lost in sailing for Whampoa, as the Great Emperor did not permit vessels from afar to visit any other port.' He then gravely pulled from his boot a long red document and handed it to his secretary, that we might be informed of its purport.

It was as follows:—

AN IMPERIAL EDICT.

As the port of Canton is the only one at which outside barbarians are allowed to trade, on no account can they be permitted to wander about to other places in the 'Middle Kingdom.' The 'Son of Heaven,' however, whose compassion is as boundless as the ocean, cannot deny to those who are in distress from want of food, through

[§]The "Omega" belonged to Dent & Co.

^{**}The "Governor Findlay" to Jardine, Matheson & Co.

*All opium vessels carry Shroffs.

adverse seas and currents, the necessary means of continuing their voyage. When supplied they must no longer loiter, but depart at once. Respect this.

Tao-Kwang, 17th year, 6th moon, 4th sun†

This 'Imperial Edict' having been replaced in its envelope and slipped inside of his boot (for service on the chance of another foreign vessel 'in distress'), his Excellency arose from his seat, which was a signal for all his attendants to return to the boat except his secretary. The two were then invited to the cabin to refresh, which being done, we proceeded to business. The Mandarin opened by the direct questions, 'How many chests have you on board? Are they all for Namoa? Do you go further up the coast?' intimating at the same time that *there* the officers were uncommonly strict, and were obliged to carry out the will of the 'Emperor of the Universe,' &c.; but our answers were equally as clear and prompt, that the vessel was not going north of Namoa, that her cargo consisted of about 200 chests. Then came the question of 'Cumsha,' and that was settled on the good old Chinese principle of 'all same custom.' Everything being thus comfortably arranged, wine drunk and cheroots smoked, his Excellency said, 'Kaou-tsze' ('I announce my departure').‡ We escorted him to the side, over which he clambered with the aid of his secretary; we saw him safely deposited under his brilliant silken canopy, and in a short time rejoin his junk.

Chinese buyers came on board freely the moment they saw the 'official' visit had been made. A day or two after, several merchant junks stood out from the mainland for the anchorage. As they approached we distinguished a private signal at their mastheads, a copy of which had been furnished to us before leaving Capshuymun. We hoisted ours, the junks anchored close to us, and in a surprisingly short time received from the 'Rose' in their own boats the opium, which had been sold at Canton, and there paid for, deliverable at this anchorage. It was a good illustration of the entire confidence existing between the foreign seller in his Factory at Canton and the Chinese buyers and of a transaction for a breach of any of the conditions of which there existed no legal redress on one side or the other. This parcel, whose value was \$150,000, had been already packed in bags, marked and numbered, at Capshuymun. The Chinaman who held the order of the Canton house for its delivery, on coming on board unfolded it from a cotton handkerchief, smoked a pipe or two and drank a cup of tea with the Shroff while it was going over

†The Chinese character which represents "day" is literally "sun."

‡When a Chinese takes leave, he says, "Kaou-tsze" ("I inform you of taking leave)."

the side, then took leave of us with the usual 'Good wind and good water,' or, 'May your voyage be prosperous!' The junks had anchored, mainsail to the mast, and as the last bag was received on board the anchors were at the bow and they standing to the northward.

Various attempts had been made to establish 'floating' depots further north, for which purpose even the coast of Corea had been visited, as well as the port of Ke-Lung on the north end of the island of Formosa. The clipper 'Sylph,' Captain Wallace, sailed up to the Gulf of Leaou-Tung, having on board the celebrated Prussian missionary Gutzlaff, who, for the privilege of distributing the Scriptures and tracts, acted as interpreter for the sale of opium. The Rev. M. Gutzlaff was an 'old coaster,' his first appearance in China being as passenger from Singapore in a Chinese junk. As he had also studied at Malacca, there was a fellow-feeling between us. The first foreign opium vessel stationed on the East coast was the 'Colonel Young'§ in 1831, her tender running between the station and Lintin, being the 'Fairy.' M. Gutzlaff was for some time on board the former, and, from his knowledge of the Chinese coast dialects, could make himself very useful. He resembled a Chinese very much, while *they* declared him to be a 'son of Han in disguise!' The accounts of his travels along the coast and in the interior which he gave me on his return were very curious and interesting. He would leave the brig and be absent many days together. On one occasion he nearly reached the frontier of the Canton province; on another he penetrated to the Bohea tea-country, in the province of Fuh-Keen. He described the people as hospitable and kind. Sedan-chairs of a rustic sort were furnished to him, with food without stint, and he never failed to find quarters for repose and refreshment in a temple. His object in travelling, besides the acquisition of knowledge, was the distribution of tracts. On visiting a town or village he would distribute translations of 'The Word of Life' and administer 'Lee's Antibilious.' Landing one day in the ship's boat, she was capsized, and he found himself rolling about in the surf with 'The poor man's friend,' a box full of 'Saints' Rest,' to which he clung, and packages of 'Cockle's pills,' while in momentary alarm that he and the boat's crew (four Caffres) would be picked up by shovel-nosed sharks.

At the end of a fortnight I decided to return to Capshuymun and Canton. My friend Mr. N—— was agreeable, but the question was, how and when? The 'Rose' had still a considerable quantity of opium to dispose of, and would not probably be ready for a month. In this dilemma two days went by, when the schooner 'Harriet'** came in from the northern

§The "Colonel Young" belonged to Jardine, Matheson & Co., as well as the "Fairy"

**The "Harriet" belonged to Jardine, Matheson & Co.

stations. She was a small fore and aft craft of nominally 100 tons, built at Macao by Hamilton, an American ship carpenter, and was commanded by a friend, Captain Hall, who consented to take us back to Capshuymun. After she had received treasure from the three Namoa vessels, her entire freight consisted of \$430,000 in value of gold bars and Sycee-silver. We went on board with our traps and servants, and were soon underway. The cabin being, of course, of preposterously small dimensions, and overrun with ants, cockroaches, and centipedes, with which we should have interfered, we made ourselves comfortable on deck—dining, smoking, and joking *al fresco*. We anchored at Kow-Lung just in time to escape an unusually heavy taiphoon. We rode it out there; then sailed to Capshuymun, and from thence direct to Canton by fast boat.

The 'Rose' subsequently foundered in a taiphoon,‡ on July 21, 1841, only one of her crew being saved, a Portuguese Sea-cunnie*, who was for three days on a plank. He was picked up by my old friend and shipmate, Captain Fraser, in the 'Good Success,' thirty miles from the Grand Ladrone.

This tedious review of the opium traffic, as existing during the first fifteen years of my residence at Canton, will give the reader a correct idea of the mode in which it was carried on. The confiscation of 20,052 chests by the Imperial Commissioner Lin, in 1839, checked the local trade for a time, but did not do away with it. Up to this period it had indeed been an easy and agreeable business for the foreign *exile* who shared in it at Canton. His sales were pleasantness and his remittances were peace. Transactions seemed to partake of the nature of the drug; they imparted a soothing frame of mind with three per cent. commission on sales, one per cent. on returns, and no bad debts! To the agent each chest was worth 20*l.* sterling, one year with another.

Consequent upon the seizure of the English-owned opium, the city of Canton, lying at the mercy of Sir Hugh Gough, was ransomed, as has been said, for \$6,000,000, and this sum was afterwards appropriated by the British Government to indemnify its owners, who had delivered it up, either directly, or indirectly through their Canton agents, in obedience to the command of Captain Elliot, 'for surrender to the Imperial Commissioner on behalf of Her Majesty's Government.'

The amount of the ransom was much below the ordinary market value, even of its cost; on the other hand, no one could foresee to what a low price it *might* fall, through the measures which were being taken by

‡Literally "great wind," not those destructive storms which occur but once in three or four years, unroof houses, and tear ships to pieces; they are called Teet-kuy, "iron whirlwinds."

*Country ships and coasters carried Manila men—Portuguese of Bombay or Macao—as helmsmen: they heave the lead, &c., and were called "Sea-cunnies."

the Pekin authorities to 'put an end for ever' to 'opium smoking' in their dominions, and the whole arrangement was, under the circumstances, a very reasonable one.

The largest quantity surrendered by any one house was 7,000 chests; we came, I think, third on the list, with 1,500 chests; the remainder was principally in the hands of English, Parsee, and other native of India firms. The appointment and approaching arrival of the Imperial Envoy became known at Canton in the latter months of 1838. The local Mandarins therefore began a system of harshness towards dealers in order to appear vigilant and active in the carrying out of old decrees. This led to much cruel punishment, to the execution of one man in the Square in front of the Factories, in December 1838 (by way of casting obloquy upon the foreigners), and an attempt to strangle another one there in February 1839. This latter caused an unprecedented riot, led to an attack upon all foreigners who happened to be out of their residences, several of them being injured, and to the Factories being besieged by many thousands of vagabonds, who kept up an incessant attack on windows and gates with stones and brickbats.

They tore down and used as 'battering rams' the heavy posts of which the small enclosures in front of each Factory were constructed, yelling and shrieking like so many wild animals. We were rather anxious that some should force their way in, as we had distributed broken bottles in great quantities up and down the main entrance to our own Factory, No. 2 Suy-Hong, our enemy being a barefooted crowd, while against the other great casks of coal had been rolled; we were not gratified by seeing the efficacy of the first protection. The mandarins had brought an 'opium dealer' to the Square about noon, in order to strangle§ him there. The cross was already driven in the ground, and in a few minutes it would have been all over, when an unusual hubbub of something extraordinary being about to take place attracted the attention of some foreigners who were on the Square at the time. Instantly the news flew from Factory to Factory, when all we could muster, perhaps seventy to eighty, rushed out to stop the proceeding. I acted as spokesman on behalf of all present, and protested against the Square being turned into an execution ground. The Mandarin in charge said that the orders he had received must be carried out, that the Square was a portion of His Celestial Majesty's Empire. He was told that might be, but it was leased to us as a recreation ground, and that we *would not permit* its desecration by a public execution! This was a bold thing to say. During this short interval the scene was

§Strangling is by means of a wooden cross driven into the ground to which the prisoner's neck and outstretched arms are secured. A more ghastly and ignominious death than beheading.

a most extraordinary one. There was the cross, and close to it the victim with a chain about his neck, held by two gaolers, all looking on with a quiet curiosity. The servants of the mandarin were supplying him with constantly renewed pipes; his attendants, a few soldiers, and his chair-bearers, seemed more amused than anything else. There is no telling what might not have taken place had it not been for a boat's crew who happened to come from Whampoa that morning. They belonged to the old East India Company's ship 'Orwell,' Captain 'Tommy' Larkins, formerly of that Company's service, and a well-known and general favourite in the community. These sailors had been wandering about the Square, but gradually approached the spot and looked on. Seeing the drift things were taking, suddenly they seized the cross, smashed it in pieces, and began to lay them over the heads and shoulders of the executioners and any Chinamen within reach. The gaolers dragged the prisoner away. Jack tore down a tent that had been pitched for the mandarin, capsized the chairs, the table, with the teapot and cups, and would next have attacked the mandarin himself had we not interfered to protect him. We were much relieved when his Excellency and his aids were carried away and no harm done to them, and we found ourselves in possession of the ground. Then cried out one of the sailors to another, 'I say, Bill, we don't get such a lark as this every day!'

The siege of the Factories by the mob was continued throughout the afternoon, the guards at the corner of the American Factory were obliged to retreat after ineffectual efforts to clear the ground of our assailants, and things looked very serious. In the 'Imperial' Factory, Captain St. Croix, of the 'Alexander Baring,' had collected all the inmates, armed with such weapons as they had amongst them, revolvers and fowling-pieces, and proposed a rush out, but happily no demonstration was made. There were without doubt eight or ten thousand of the vilest of the population seemingly bent on the destruction of the 'foreign devils.' Towards five o'clock some one suggested that it might be worth while to get notice of our situation to Houqua. It looked as if the Mandarins had left us at the mercy of the mob, while the streets were completely blocked, and no Chinaman probably thought of going on such a mission. Mr. G. Nye (an American gentleman) and myself undertook to go and see him. Getting on the roof of No. 4 'Suy-Hong' we managed to cross to that of a shop in Hong Lane, through which we descended, and after some exertion reached the street in the rear of the Factories, called the 'Thirteen Factory Street,' which led to Houqua's Hong. We found the old gentleman in some trepidation from the news that had been already brought to him, but he seemed quite ignorant of the Square and the Factories being at the

mercy of the crowd. He at once despatched a messenger to the 'Kwang-Chow-Foo,' the chief magistrate of the city, and we returned the way we had come. About half-past six o'clock, to our great relief we heard the approaching sound of the gong, denoting the coming of the officers, and witnessed from our verandah the immediate dispersion with whips of the rabble. No one was spared, the sight of the numerous soldiers in attendance on the Mandarins caused a rush towards every outlet from the Square, and even to the river, where several were drowned, not a boatman offering them the least assistance. Wide open flew the Factory gates, and in an instant their imprisoned occupants appeared with looks of relief indescribable. The Mandarins passed the night on the ground, chairs were procured for them, official lanterns were lighted, and, conscious of the entire safety which we now enjoyed, and without being disturbed by the hourly beating on gongs of the different watches of the night, we all turned in. The next day everything reassumed its normal state of comfort and safety. The 'victim' had been strangled at the public execution ground, to which he was taken from the Square. Approaching the Mandarins in the morning to thank them for their timely assistance (rather a 'cool' thing to do, as some one remarked, seeing we had taken the law in our own hands and had driven away the officer of justice day before!) they received us very courteously, and assured us we had 'nothing to fear!'

This was the most serious of many provocations inflicted by foreigners upon the authorities. We treated their 'chops,' their prohibitions, warnings, and threats, as a rule, very cavalierly. We often spoke of their forbearance and wondered at the aid and protection they extended to us; in fact, they considered us more as unruly children, people who had never had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with 'Taou-Le,' or 'reason.'

When the Imperial Government took the unlooked-for measure of seizing the English-owned opium and punishing the native dealers, the day seemed to have arrived when the trade in it would really cease. The Canton houses had been forcibly deprived of their stocks; the supply on the East Coast, under the control of very few of them, was diminishing, with no fresh supplies to look forward to. Quantities which were on their way from India were being landed at Singapore or sent over to Manila, while further shipments from the former country were entirely suspended. On all sides a complete darkness existed as to what would be the result. Holders were offering to sell at Singapore for next to nothing; the article was in reality a drug indeed. Even as low as \$150 to \$200 per chest became its nominal value in the Straits. This was the condition of the 'opium question' which quickly followed the confiscation. The foreign community, with the exception of the Americans, had all left Canton, and at

first took up their quarters on board of ships at 'Kow-Lung;' but having been bombarded out of that anchorage by the Mandarins, 'Toon-Koo,' at the mouth of the 'Capshuymun,' became the general rendezvous. One day a clipper schooner got under way and stood seaward, and some time elapsed before she was heard from again. She had taken on board a few chests of opium that had arrived since the seizure. At the moment of sailing a letter was handed to the captain, directing him to open one of two others enclosed, after he should have got clear of the land. On doing so he found that he was ordered to make the best of his way to Singapore, to land the opium he had on board, and deliver the unopened letter to his consignee there, by whose instructions he would be subsequently governed. The schooner consequently proceeded on her voyage, the captain not having the slightest intimation of the object of it. Simply, he was directed to reply to any enquiries on arrival that he had brought down opium. The twenty chests were landed at a moment of the day when the Bund was crowded with Moormen, Jews, Parsees, and Chinese, all opium holders or brokers. No letters had of course been received by them, but at the unprecedented sight of twenty chests being landed they concluded that now indeed 'God was great and Mohammed was his prophet,' and that China had at last resolved to permit no more poisonous drug to be landed on its shores. Before twenty-four hours had passed, so adroitly had the agent made his plans, that, aided by clever brokers, he secured nearly 700 chests, quietly, here a little and there a little, at prices 'dirt cheap.' Opium had been unsalable at Singapore, many of the holders were unable to hold, and some were under orders to sell for whatever they could get, and 'have done with it'; the average of the purchase in question was \$250 per chest. The twenty chests were re-shipped to the schooner, the newly purchased were taken on board, and after a very short detention she sailed, whither no one knew. She was bounding up the China Sea. Her destination was the East Coast, and there her cargo was readily disposed of at an average of \$2,500 per chest.

Inside of the city of Canton, as we heard from Chinese, the price rose to \$3,000, while the sale of it or the smoking of it was almost a matter of life and death—the latter was the penalty threatened and even carried out against those who were known to indulge in it. The Imperial Commissioner was on the spot; he was inexorable, consternation prevailed throughout the Chinese community, but we heard from good authority that the number of the beheaded was not large.

While the opium trade was going on, discussion often occurred as to the morality of it, as well as to the effect of smoking on the Chinese. None of the Hong merchants ever had anything to do with it, and several

of the foreign houses refrained from dealing in it on conscientious grounds. As to its influence on the inhabitants of the city and suburbs at large, they were a healthy, active, hard-working, and industrious people, withal cheerful and frugal. They were intelligent in business, skilful in manufactures and handicrafts. These traits are inconsistent with habitual smoking, while the costliness of the prepared drug was such as to render a dilution of it (to bring it within the means of the masses) utterly harmless. Amongst the wealthier classes, no doubt, it was more or less common, this we knew; but I myself, and I think I may safely say the entire foreign community, rarely, if ever, saw any one physically or mentally injured by it. No evidences of a general abuse, rarely of the use of the pipe, were apparent. I remember one man having been brought to a missionary hospital to be treated for excessive smoking of opium, but he was looked upon as a Lion and much was made of him. In fact, smoking was a habit, as the use of wine was with us, in moderation. As compared with the use of spirituous liquors in the United States and in England, and the evil consequences of it, that of opium was infinitesimal. This is my personal experience during a residence at Canton, Macao, and Hong Kong of forty years.

* * *

For many years after the first foreign merchants came to Canton, they were not permitted to remain after their vessels were despatched, but were obliged to leave in them. In the case of the great Companies such as the English East India and the Dutch, it gradually became a great inconvenience. These, therefore, retired to Macao, where in time residences were specially built for their accommodation. (The old Dutch factory there, which had stood for over a century, was destroyed by a taiphoon in 1875). The removal from Canton to Macao took place at the close of the north-east monsoon, simultaneously with the commencement of the dead season, when the market would have been cleared of teas and few or no vessels at Whampoa. Macao possesses a delightful climate, completely within the sea breezes, and is beautifully situated; it moreover offers in its entirety perhaps a unique specimen of Western colonies in the Eastern world as they existed 250 years ago—in its forts, churches, and walls, its convent, senate-house, and the extensive, solidly built, private residences.

The Bay of Macao, looking eastward, is strikingly like that of Naples. The fine houses which border it are protected by a broad esplanade,* supported by a sea-wall with a low parapet. The view from it is very fine across the outer harbour in a north-east direction to the islands of Lantao and Lintin; to the north lie the 'Nine Islands,' and south-

*Called the Praya Grande, temporarily destroyed by the taiphoon of 1875.

westerly is the anchorage called 'Taypa,' between the islands of Montanha to the west and Cabreta to the east. This anchorage is about three miles from Macao, and (as well as the two islands) is under the sovereignty of the Portuguese. West of Macao is the inner harbour, which separates it from the island called the 'Lappa.' On it in the early days the Portuguese built villas and laid out gardens, but they were subsequently abandoned from an inability to protect them effectually from Chinese marauders and pirates, and in 1825 a few vestiges of them only remained.

The departure from Canton of the Factory was annually quite a circumstance. From fifteen to twenty 'chopboats' were drawn up at the Company's landing, of which some were converted into sleeping apartments, for which their high decks and capacious holds, which were floored off, afforded ample space. On either side were large windows, with curtains and movable shutters, for protection against rain. Others were appropriated to several milch cows and their keepers, for supplies for the journey, as well as books and papers of value. The members of the Factory, rarely fewer than twenty to twenty-five, occupied the others with their personal servants; and, what with Compradore's men, cooks, and coolies, the entire number was not less than 250 to 300 persons, including the boats' crews. On the arrival of the Linguist with the Government permit, the fleet set sail amidst the beating of gongs, burning fire-crackers and small squares of red paper, as a propitiation to the gods presiding over rivers and streams. The boat always took the Macao passage, as it was called, which is a broad stream branching off from the Pearl River, about a half-mile westward of the factories and running due south; consequently they passed the Factories, affording altogether a fine sight. The distance to Macao, taking the curves of the river, is about 120 miles, and the journey averages three or four days. As the return to Canton formed also an event in local life, being at Macao when the Company left in October 1831, I was glad to have the opportunity of availing myself of an invitation from Mr. Majoribanks, the then 'Chief,' to go up with them. A chop-boat was placed at the disposal of young John Robert Morrison and myself, and the following particulars of the trip to the provincial city are from a letter written by me at the time to a relation in the United States:—

On board the 'Golden Galley,' Macao to Canton: October 4, 1831.

It was the intention of the Factory to embark on the 1st, but the departure was postponed to the 2nd. A circular was then sent to the members, requesting them to be on board their respective boats by half-past ten the next morning, at which time they were to get under way. Accordingly, my chum and I joined our chop-boat, anchored in the inner harbour with thirteen others, which composed the fleet. Presently a signal was made by the boat of Mr. Davis, Chief of the Select Committee, hoisting its mainsail, and in a few minutes we were sailing

in line through the harbour. We numbered, including invited guests, thirty-eight foreigners. Three of the boats (which in foreign measurement would be of, say, 120 tons) were full of Factory coolies, cows, and provisions, the latter in addition to each one having a supply on board sufficient for three days. Our chop is large and comfortable; we have a cabin, by means of partitions, 14 feet by 10 and 7 feet high, and forward of it is another for our servants, the cook, and stores. Two couches, one on either side serve for beds, added to which are tables, toilette arrangements, and everything complete, with cleanliness the most perfect. We breakfast and dine as regularly and in as good style as on shore. Some boats have four gentlemen and others five, as arranged among themselves. They are chartered by the Factory twice a year, and each one receives one hundred Spanish dollars for the trip up or down. Provisions and furniture—in fact, all things needful—are also supplied by the Company. We have not with us all the members, some remaining awhile longer at Macao; but amongst those now on their way to Canton are Dr. Colledge and Padre Vachell, as well as that other important personage, the Steward Canning! The Company's Compradore also accompanies the fleet, with three or four fast boats under his control for carrying messages, making visits, or distributing fresh milk. So you see everything is as cosy as possible. The crews, numbering about fifteen men to each boat, manage them with surprising dexterity. These Chinese boat people are perhaps unequalled by any others in the world. They are not only active and intelligent, but good-natured and obliging, and seem anxious to get on as quickly as possible.

Now that I have given you a sketch of our accommodation, I will go on with our passage from the inner harbour. While passing through it, volleys of fire-crackers were let off, and gongs were beaten by way of 'chin-chining Joss' for a safe and pleasant passage. A little later dinner was served, and a No. 1 dinner it was. Crab soup to begin with, an ample dessert, Hodgson's pale ale, superb La Rose and sherry, with custard-apples, plantains, and other fruits. We turned in at eleven, but slept little, as the wind was dead ahead after entering the 'Broadway,' so I was up early and on deck. The fleet was hard at it, tack and tack to windward. We found ourselves in the middle of it, those to windward about three miles off, and those to leeward about the same distance. At eight o'clock we passed the Mo-tow, or 'Knife-grinding,' Fort, which was once a stronghold of the celebrated pirate Apotsae, who pillaged all the country round about. Near to it were lying two of His Celestial Majesty's men-of-war junks. The day's supply of fresh milk was brought on board, and at eight breakfast, which was attended with difficulty, from the heeling over of the boat. We entered the 'Heang-Shan'† River, but at 11.30 were all obliged to anchor within five miles of the city, as it had begun to blow a violent gale, the rain coming down in torrents. On the morning of the 5th, cloudy and rainy, but the wind abating somewhat and the tide being favourable, we hove up, and at 8.30 passed Heang-Shan. We expected to anchor to receive the customary visit of the mandarin, but he may not have felt inclined to turn out in such weather. It happened that the Compradore, who had gone up in a fast boat the evening before, procured from him his seal to the Company's 'chop,' which allowed us to go on without anchoring; but through all this fuss and his absence we lost the milk for our after-dinner tea! On the morning of the 6th the Compradore was again alongside, and made

†The Fragrant Hill.

it 'all right' with us by threatening to come again with mutton for dinner; and, considering what we have 'undergone' since leaving Macao, it will be very acceptable.

The scenery on both sides of the river is celebrated for its beauty, and we enjoyed it much. The banks are lined with orange and lemon trees, peaches and lychee. On the summit of a high hill stands a seven-story pagoda. If you ask a Chinaman its object or use, he replies that it is 'Joss pigeon,' and you are as wise as you were before. In reality, the Chinese believe that these buildings bring prosperity on the region and ward off evil influences. The river is crowded with boats crossing from one bank to the other, filled with all sorts of country produce or passengers, who stare their very eyes out in looking at us. Further on we pass another fort, with a curious name, the 'Old Duck,' and on the riverside opposite is another called 'Greatly Excellent.' In the afternoon a fine strong breeze sprang up, and we made rapid progress, passing still another fortification, called the 'Mouth of the Great Gate.' We were compelled to dine on a superb roasted capon, with *et ceteras* as usual. We just touched at 'Che-nae' for the official formality, and soon after the Western Fort was passed, when we saw the innumerable lights and lanterns of the provincial city; and at 8 p.m. glad enough we were to find ourselves once more in 'Old Canton.'

The Dutch East India Company followed the same programme to and from Macao. The members of this Company were never so numerous as that of the English. There were usually two gentlemen to manage all affairs, with three or four 'writers.'

Under various pretexts, other foreign merchants managed to remain at Canton the year out. One was that their import cargo not having been sold, consequently the tea and other merchandise which they had shipped was unpaid for. This, if not considered reasonable, at all events had the effect of causing the authorities to overlook their presence, and gradually that article of the 'old regulations' became a dead letter.

Having seen the manner in which the great Companies went between Canton and Macao, it will be curious to follow the 'private' individual and the formalities that had to be gone through (which, however, applied to those Companies as well). A linguist was sent for, to whom was given the name and nationality of the person requiring a permit for Macao, and he would take them to the Hong merchants. Three or four of these would then petition the Hoppo that the request might be granted. Amongst these merchants must be included the one who 'secured' the foreigner in question. On the third day after, the linguist would reappear at the Factory and give notice that the luggage, &c., must be examined by an officer from the Hoppo's office, which having been done, the permit would be given to the head boatman, and on the fourth day the boat could proceed on her journey. It must not be supposed that these old 'government regulations' were never infringed, for in my own case, in 1830, being ill, I asked Houqua to use his influence that I might leave at once, and in twenty-four hours my papers were ready and I was off.

The boats in which foreigners travelled to and from Macao (except occasionally if a large party, when they took chop-boats) acquired the name of 'inside fast boats.' They were large and commodious, with cabins in which one could stand up, broad raised seats on two sides, covered with clean matting, on which one slept. They were furnished with green venetian blinds. In the centre of the cabin stood the dining-table, and over it a lamp was suspended. The accommodation was ample for four persons. Aft the main cabin was a smaller one, for the servants and cook; then came the stern-sheets, occupied by the helmsman and two or three men to work the main-sheet. On one quarter was the kitchen; forward of the principal cabin was a flush deck to the bows; there stood the foremast, and ten to twelve oars could be used. The crew consisted of twelve or fifteen men, always alert, hard-working and good-natured. The trip down the river or up was particularly enjoyable; the respite from office duties imparted a new sensation; and, if made in the south-west monsoon, nothing so exhilarating after the close hot Factories as this breeze fresh from the sea. The entire cost of the trip was for the boat eighty dollars, and the invariable 'cumsha,' ten or fifteen more, according to one's humour after a quick or tedious passage.

The official papers were four in number, to which on the particular occasion now referred to a fifth was added.

No. 1. The petition from the Hong merchants applying for the pass to Macao, which read thus:—

Whereas it is our duty to petition for permits for Macao, it now appears that the barbarian merchant, H—, having clearly set forth that on a former year he came to Canton to trade, now wishes to visit Macao. Not daring to resort to illegal ways, he has begged us to entreat the favour of an official passport being granted to him, that he may submit it for inspection at the several stations on the route. Such being the barbarian's wishes, we petition that he may be officially permitted to proceed.

Memorandum.—The barbarian merchant H—is provided with one sword and one gun for the protection of his person, as with clothing and cooking utensils.

(Signed)

HOUQUA

MOUQUA

PWANKEIQUA

PWANHOYOQUA.

Taou-Kwang: 19th year, 4th moon, 15th sun.

No. 2. The Hoppo's Answer:—

The request is granted. He may go to Macao. This must be shown at the several custom-houses on the route, and on arrival at Macao it is to be surrendered to the collector there.

(Seal of the Hoppo.)

Note.—To be countersigned at the West Fort and at Che-Nae.

No. 3

This pass is to be countersigned along the whole route to Macao. Yu, by Imperial decree Acting Hoppo for the Port of Canton. Raised two degrees!

Whereas it is evident that, to ensure safety and uninterrupted travelling between Canton and Macao, barbarians should be furnished with passports for exhibition at the custom-houses on the way, that they may be allowed to proceed, and the time of arrival and departure at each is to be noted on them. All difficulty thus removed, and no excuse for loitering or wandering, how can disturbances arise? On arrival at Macao the pass must be delivered to the custom-house there, to be returned to this office and cancelled. It is highly important that they (to whose hands it shall come) attend to this injunction.

Memorandum.—One boat, containing one barbarian named H—, who in the 4th moon, 16th sun, starts from the capital.

(Seal and date.)

Countersigned at the

West Fort	16th,	arrived evening,	left evening.
Che-Nae	17th,	„	daylight, left daylight.
Hiang-Shan	18th,	„	midnight, left daylight.
Macao	18th,	„	evening.

(I fill in the dates with arrivals and departures as they took place.)

No. 4

Yu [as above].

Whereas, by the will of the Great Emperor, he controls all matters relating to the trade of the Outer Ocean, now grants the merchant H—, by means of the boat belonging to Yip-Paou-Chang, liberty to proceed with fine teas, &c., to Macao for sale. Herein are registered the article he takes with him on which the duties have been collected, viz:—

63	catties of tea,	in five boxes.
4	large silver	spoons.
8	small silver	spoons.
45	catties of oil,	in two jars.
10	„	pictures.
36	„	preserves, in one box.
27	„	salt fish, in one package.
612	„	wooden ware, in eight boxes.
30	pairs of shoes,	in one box.
270	catties of iron	ware, in three boxes.
18	„	hams, in one package.
1	wooden	table.
27	catties of white	sugar, in one package.
3	small	oilpaintings.

The barbarian merchant H— also takes the following personal stores:—

542	bottles of	foreign wine.
30	foreign	knives, with 30 forks.
30	„	glass cups and bottles (decanter).
1	trunk of	woolen clothing.
2	boxes of	shaving-head implements (razors).
250	catties of	foreign clothing.
30	„	fragrant water.
200	„	lead.
70	„	divers eatables.

1 glass mirror.
 1 large glass lamp.
 20 catties of foreign crockery.
 10 " copper ware.
 30 " candles.
 10 pieces of foreign fragrant soap.
 1 foreign gun and 1 sword.
 1 hat and 1 spyglass.
 170 catties of foreign white paper.
 5 pictures with glass fronts.
 40 catties of rolled tobacco leaves (cheroots).
 1 foreign white wollen blanket.

As my departure for Macao on this occasion took place a month or two after the surrender of the opium, unusual strictness was observed for fear that some of the nine foreign merchants selected by the 'Kinchae'* as hostages might escape. The following extra document was therefore issued:—

An extra permit granted by the officer appointed by the Imperial Commissioner, occasioned by the opium affair, and stationed in front of the foreign Factories, to take cognisance of all foreigners arriving at and leaving Canton. Le, waiting preferment, specially appointed, now reports to the Kwang-Chow-Heè.† It having been brought to my knowledge that the boat owned by Chang, having on board the barbarian H—, leaves this 16th sun of the 4th moon for Macao, no delay must take place. Moreover, as neither of 'the nine' forbidden to leave are on board, custom-houses will permit her to pass.

No. 196.

(Signature of the Kwang-Chow-Heè),

and endorsed, 'To be returned and cancelled.'

The House Compradores were always glad to avail themselves of such an opportunity to send to Macao a lot of 'Chow-chow' cargo on their own account, a privilege we never refused. This accounts for the sentence in No. 4—'proceeding to Macao with fine tea for sale.' Whence came the 200 catties (266 pounds) of lead was a mystery to me, but the 270 catties of 'iron ware' were iron chests, and 270 catties of foreign white paper certain office books of accounts and stationery, removed from the Canton offices in consequence of the unsettled state of affairs, with a quantity of house stores, &c. The details of everything is peculiarly a Chinese idea, and as similar documents are now no longer issued, and the *inside* passage to Macao never taken under former circumstances, they are curious in their way. The *outside* passage, by the way of the Bogue and in splendid steamers, is now the order of the day.

* * *

The word *tea* is of Chinese origin, being a corruption of *toy* in the Fuh-Keen dialect, the province from whence it was first exported to Europe.

*The Imperial Commissioner.

†A subordinate officer of the chief magistrate's department.

The leaf has always retained its name of tea in the West, notwithstanding that in Canton, from which port it has been shipped for nearly 250 years, it is called *cha*. This word means the *infusion*, while *cha-yip*, analogous to 'leaves for infusion,' is the tea of commerce. The varieties are very numerous, and are classed under the heads of *black* and *green*. It is only within fifty-five years that *Oologs* and *Ankoys* have been shipped, and chiefly to the United States. These are of a light brown colour. *Blacks* consisted on *Bohea*, *Congo*, *Souchong*, and *Powchong*. The first derives its name from the celebrated *Woo-E* Hills of Fuh-Keen; the second signifies *Workmen's* tea; the third 'small seeds'; and the fourth 'seeds in bundles,' it having been always done up in paper packages. *Greens* were, 1, 'Young Hyson,' 2, 'Hyson,' 3, 'Hyson Skin,' 4, 'Gunpowder,' and 5, 'Imperial.' The first means in Chinese 'before the rains' (when it was gathered), the second the 'opening of spring,' and the third the 'refuse or end of the crop.' The Chinese name of the fourth signifies 'small pearls,' and of the fifth 'large pearls.'

In addition to these were formerly shipped *Campo*, *Hung-Muy*, *Lo*, *Caper*, and *Woping*; but they have now lost their distinctive names, and if shipped at the present day are merged into other kinds more popularly known.

The choicest of all teas, and which we saw only on special occasions, when it came with the annual New Year presents from the Hong merchants, was 'Padre Sou-chong,' so called from its having been grown by the priests of a famous monastery. The whole quantity was small; it was put up in canisters of two or three ounces, and was currently supposed to be sent to the Emperor. His Celestial Majesty deigned as a rare favour to present some of it to the most favoured of the high officers of Government at Peking, and they in their turn, as a great compliment, forwarded a portion to the Hong merchants. This was in return for valuable watches set with pearls, for clocks, musical snuff-boxes, or 'smellum water' (as the Chinese call lavender-water and eau de cologne), which foreign objects it was customary to send to influential mandarins for favours in the past and those in prospective.

The following tradition exists as to this peculiar tea. In spite of the assertion that the entire annual crop is 'offered up to the reigning Emperor,' it is brought to Canton, but in a very limited quantity.

In a deep recess of the *Woo-E* (*Bohea*) Hills, surrounded by shrubbery and trees, almost impenetrable to the human eye, stands the Temple of the 'Silver Moon.' Its antiquity is so great that all traces of its origin are lost. The temple has been inhabited from time immemorial by a family of the 'Tea Sect,' which, at the period of the coinciding with the maturity of the leaves, makes offerings to its patron saint of fine tea. Close by the temple stand three small tea trees,

which are tended by the family. They produce but one catty each. These trees were originally planted thousands of years ago by divine hands, and they have never been known to yield more nor less than three catties ($4\frac{1}{3}$ pounds).

The original paper of which this is a translation was given to me by Pwan-Suy-Lan, with a small canister of this famous tea; but on asking him if he considered it to have been originally planted by 'Joss,' he answered, he thought not, but that 'he own come'—that is to say, 'it sprang from the ground spontaneously.' It was known that the senior Hong merchant received the greatest quantity of it. As with Pwan-Suy-Lan and Pwankeiqua, Houqua's family had long been tea planters in the Bohea Hills, and were so when they first came to Canton, soon after foreign trade was confined to that port (as he frequently observed to me), about the year 1750.

Well-to-do Chinese drink black tea, but not usually *new* tea. They keep it in closely-shut earthen jars for a couple of years before using it. This moderates the acrid or pungent quality which new tea possesses more or less, and renders it softer and more acceptable to the taste.

As if to make all things work comfortably, the setting in of the south-west monsoon brought foreign ships to Whampoa to receive cargoes of teas, which were meanwhile arriving from the interior, from August to November; and the north-east monsoon, as the ships loaded and left the port in succession, blew them down again. The only exceptions were known as 'out-of-season ships,' of which there were rarely over two yearly. These came east about *viâ* Gilolo or Dampier's Straits, and they took away the last teas of a season. An occasional ship, trusting to good weatherly qualities, would take the Palawan passage late in the year, beat up under the coast of Luconia to Cape Boleno, and then stretch across the China Sea; but it was dangerous from its numerous shoals, and a vessel would be dreadfully knocked about, even if successful. About 1830 or 1831 a bold and successful attempt to set the north-east monsoon at defiance was made by the *first* opium clipper. She was called the 'Red Rover,' and was commanded by Captain Clifton, owned at, and from Calcutta. It was considered a most extraordinary performance.

The earliest shipments of a season were made from Whampoa by the East India Company, in November usually. They consisted of contracts made at the end of the previous year. They could be seen in large quantities stored in the Hong, waiting the first ships to come in. These teas were currently known as 'winter teas,' and went to keep up the quantity of one year's supply which the Company was bound by its Charter to keep on hand in London at all times. Continuous shipments followed, so that by the end of the year or a little later their vessels were all away.

To the United States green teas were exported almost solely until about 1828, when the first blacks were shipped; after that date they became a feature in the trade. Contracts were made for the new season's teas, either at fixed prices, or, if it was an object to get a ship off quickly, then the prices were governed by those of the opening of the market. The 'opening' of the tea season was eagerly looked forward to; and such was the contrast between the busy and the dull season that during the former we were repeatedly in the offices until two o'clock in the morning. The seasons of 1830 to 1838 were particularly active ones, and besides business with India, England, and the West Coast of America, our own house had frequently at Whampoa at one time ten to fifteen ships (in the year 1833 twenty-two), every one loading teas and silks for the United States, and, after 1833, vessels loading for England as well. It was during one of these years—I think 1834—that we despatched the *first* English vessel from Whampoa that had yet carried a full cargo of free teas to New South Wales; she was named the 'Royal Saxon,' and was commanded by Captain Robert Towns.

The final loading of a ship consisted of all sorts of odds and ends reserved for the last moment, and shipped off by what was called the 'chow-chow chop.' More valuable cargo, not ready in time for the regular cargo boats, could also be sent to Whampoa by this conveyance. It was a great convenience, while all other shipping off was conducted on the strictness of the laws of the Medes and Persians, with documents without flaw.

When the market had been cleared of teas, the vessels despatched and the business of the season over, contracts were made with the Hong merchants for the next season. These contracts were often of great pecuniary value. They consisted of teas of certain qualities and kinds, in packages of chests and half-chests, sometimes at fixed prices, at others at the opening prices after they should have arrived, and deliverable at the customary time. No other record of these contracts was ever made than by each party booking them. No written agreements were drawn up and signed, nothing was sealed or attested. A wilful breach of contract never took place, and as regards quantity and quality, the Hong merchants fulfilled their part with scrupulous honesty and care. I am speaking of the first twenty years of my own personal experience.

Entire cargoes of teas were purchased and shipped from a few small canister musters, and were weighed by taking the average of a few chests from each 'chop.' A 'chop' of tea was always an uncertain quantity, blacks numbering 400 to 600 chests, sometimes more or less, and greens from 120 to 200 chests. The chest contained originally 100 catties, or 133-1/3

pounds, the halves and quarters in the same proportion, while boxes were locally packed with canisters of various sizes. The inconvenience of these larger packages, both in size and weight, caused a reduction to be made in them gradually until the chest averaged about eighty catties. Some of the packages shipped at this times have completely disappeared, and we hear no longer of five and ten catty boxes, nor of one, two, or three pound canisters.

Valuable invoices of silk piece goods were bought and shipped from an examination of only a piece or two taken at random from any box we might choose to have opened. They consisted of satins, crapes, sinchews, levantines, black handkerchiefs, sarsnets, lustrings, and pongees, besides great quantities of yellow nankins, almost all of which articles have now ceased to be exported.

As a natural consequence of the integrity of the Chinese merchants, we had neither receipt nor checkbook. Payments were made by the Compradore of large amounts on simple scraps of paper signed with the initials of a firm. No promissory notes existed, and consequently there was no "bill book." There was no post office, there were no postages, and no copying machines.

We had no custom-house business to attend to; our inward cargoes were landed and stored, and our outward ones shipped off, by the Linguists, to whom we had but to intimate in which Hong the former should be landed or the ship to which the latter were to be sent. All merchandise was purchased at long price, and all sold at short price; this was the rule, and saved us an infinity of trouble. We were under no apprehension as to the outturn of the quality or weight of the teas and silks which we shipped. The ingenious process of augmenting the brilliancy of tea by a clever facing of 'Prussian blue' or 'Chinese yellow,' of adding to the bulk by an admixture of chopped willow or elm leaves, of increasing its weight by iron filings, was not yet practised by those 'heathen Chinese.' Possibly the absence of these 'industries' formed a very primitive mode of carrying on business!

On the other hand, we were obliged to make our own ink (out of powders from England), in which we resembled the Jews, who arrived in China and settled at Kae-Fung-Foo any time between B.C. 1122 and 249! Historians have not settled this point, but they have ascertained that, whenever it might have been, 'those people used split bamboos for pens, and at the Feast of Tabernacles made sufficient ink for the ensuing year!' Our letters and shipping documents were despatched under wafer or seal, no such thing as envelopes yet existed (they had been in use in China for centuries!), nor did we enjoy the luxury of postage stamps. Moreover

every consignee of a ship was his own 'post office' for all letters brought out by her, and he delivered them to suit his own convenience. I have known cases in which outward letters were delivered when the vessel that brought them was outside the Bogue, homeward bound. This custom of not always delivering letters on the arrival of a ship from the United States was mutually understood, and considered as the privilege of any house. It can easily be imagined that a New York firm, in sending the 'Huntress' to a market 12,000 miles away for a valuable cargo, might suffer greatly in its interests if she carried letters from a rival house deliverable on arrival, informing its correspondent that it should despatch the 'Levant' shortly, give him particulars of her outward cargo and orders for a return one. Thus very reasonably letters were detained until the agent of a ship had concluded his purchases—at least he had the privilege of detaining them. There was, of course, the chance of the passage out, and the difference that might result to the quickest ship.

* * *

When a ship had anchored at Whampoa, the pilot reported her arrival to the Hoppo through a branch Hoppo station at that place. This would be done, not by giving the name of the ship, but that of the captain. Two boats were then made fast to her, to see that no smuggling was carried on; they were attached one on each quarter. Meanwhile the agent would select a Hong merchant to become 'security' for her and a Linguist to transact her business with the Hoppo's office, to send boats to bring her cargo to Canton, and to take to Whampoa her outward cargo, and these were all the 'official' duties that the agent had to attend to.

Before she could open hatches, the formality of 'Cumsha and Measurement' had to be gone through. The first word signifies 'present,' and was a payment made by the earliest foreign vessels for the privilege of entering the port; and the second is equivalent to tonnage duties. On a day of which notice was given to the agent, a specially appointed mandarin from the Hoppo's office was sent on board, attended by pursers and numerous servants. He was always received with some ceremony, and regaled with wine and biscuit. As with all the officials, they were men of a good deal of dignity and ease of manner. The captain would receive him at the gangway, while all hands were rigged out in their 'Sunday suits.' After the ordinary salutations, enquiries as to the passage out, &c., the measurement would be made by one of the attendants attaching the end of a measured tape to the forward part of the rudder head and running it to the after part of the foremast, then calling out the length, which others would note in writing; the breadth was then taken amidships close abaft the mainmast, between the plankshears, which being booked,

a calculation was made of the dimensions for duty. As the details were peculiar, I gave those of the ships 'Maria,' (Captain Evans), of New York, whose tonnage was about 420 (Canton, June 1830).

Length, 67 covids; breadth 22; total 147 $\frac{4}{10}$ covids. Deducting one-fifth according to the regulations for second-class ships. Equal to taels*	842.2.8.5	
Loss in converting into Sycee-silver	75.8.0.6	
For work of converting, $\frac{1}{5}$ per cent	15.1.6.1	
Cumsha	810.6.9.1	
	1,743.9.4.3	
The Hoppo's 'opening barrier fee'	480.4.2.0	
		2,224.3.6.3
Transport to Peking and weighing in Government scales		150.1.4.5
To the Superintendent of the Treasury		116.4.2.4
Add $1 \frac{1}{10}$ per cent. converting into Sycee		1.2.8.0
		2,492.2.1.2
Difference in weights between Canton and Peking, 7 per cent.		174.4.5.5
At 72 per dollar, are \$5,092 $\frac{59}{100}$ Taels		3,666.6.6.7

Vessels coming to Whampoa with rice only were subject to the modified port charges of \$1,150 up to the year 1833, but in that year, owing to a great famine that existed, they were done away with. The Viceroy Loo then issued a lengthy proclamation, in which the Hong merchants were ordered to make known the cessation of those charges to 'all the foreign barbarians,' 'who would leap for joy, and go backward and forward in search of rice cargoes.'

The 'Cumsha and Measurement' having been duly disposed of, a permit was granted for 'opening hatches,' and the unloading went on uninterruptedly. The outward cargo was then shipped off, and the vessel ready for sea. Tea ships exclusively met with no great delay at Whampoa—on the average about three months—but if silks constituted her homeward lading, frequently six months passed before they were ready. It then happened that not a solitary foreign vessel remained at the anchorage; I have seen this to occur on several occasions.

*The currency being taels, mace, candareens, and cash.

When finally loaded, application was made through the Linguist to the Hoppo for the 'Grand Chop.' This was at once delivered on ascertaining that all formalities had been fulfilled and duties collected. It was a large sheet having a broad border, on two sides of which was the figure of a Dragon (the symbol of the Celestial Empire). They were always the same in form, and printed from wooden blocks, with blank spaces to be filled in with the name of the captain, number of the crew, of armament, and date of issue. The following is a translation of the Grand Chop of the ship 'Maria,' Captain Evans:—

Chung, filling the office of Hoppo by Imperial appointment, issues this in obedience to his will. When Western Ocean ships have been measured, paid their duties, and departed, should bad winds and water drive them to the shores of another province (not being within the accorded limits of trading), if it is found that they possess this sealed discharge they must be allowed to continue their voyage without delay or opposition. Which is on record.

Now the foreign merchant ship 'Ewan' having loaded with merchandise, goes to the Hwa-Kei country, there to manage her business. She has been measured, and duties incurred by her have all been settled, as customary. As she is now departing this is given as a clearance into the hands of the said merchant to grasp and hold fast, so that, should he meet with any other custom-house, he must not be detained. Military stations to which it may be shown must also let the said vessel pass without interruption, and not induce her to remain and trade that they may be benefited by any charges or duties. Should they act otherwise, it will give rise to trouble and confusion.

According to old regulations, the guns and ammunition and other arms she carries for her defence are herein enumerated. An unnecessary quality is not allowed, nor has she dared to receive on board contraband articles. Should it have been discovered that these rules were broken by her, this permission to sail would assuredly assuredly not have been granted.

		(Hoppo's seal.)
Sailors		26
Great guns		4
Shot		100
Swords		10
Muskets		10
Fire-physic (powder)		200 catties
Taou-Kwang: 11th year, 10th moon, 12th sun.		..
* * *		

The *Whampoa Compradores* who attended upon American and other foreign ships received their licenses from the Hoppo's office. They were, like their Canton brethren, a notable class, and fulfilled for the ships the same offices as the latter did for the Factories. It was another illustration of the perfect system that existed, whereby all having business at the port were aided in every manner for their own convenience and security. The *Whampoa Compradore* for American vessels in eight cases out of ten

†'Flowery flag,' the United States.

was 'Boston Jack.' He was much considered by his countrymen on the island, and ever civil and obliging. He had once made a passage to Boston as steward, and returned to Whampoa, *viâ* Cape Horn and the north-west coast of America, in a small schooner of about 200 tons called the 'Cossack,' on board of which was Mr. Oliver H. Gordon as supercargo. 'Boston Jack' was very fond of relating his experiences on board of the 'Cossack,' particularly off the Horn, where, as he would say, 'too muchee strong gale; sea all same high masthead—no can see sky, no can see water, meaning that in the turmoil of the elements one could see nothing. By his countrymen he was looked upon as a very 'great gun;' he was a favourite with the Americans, and finally died at a good old age, 'universally regretted' and much missed!

The grand chop having been received from the Hoppo the pilot was obtained at Whampoa. As the ship got under way, the Compradore's 'cumshas,'‡ according to 'olo custom,' were brought on board. They consisted of dried lychee, Nankin dates (the 'latest dates,' as they were christened), baskets of oranges, and preserved ginger; then, amidst a firing off of crackers attached to the end of a long pole from the Compradore's boat—to awaken the gods to the vessel's departure, that they might vouchsafe to her 'good wind and good water'—she departed. As in entering the river, she hove to off Anonghoy Fort at the Bogue, that the pilot could exhibit his pass. Sailing by Macao, this individual was cast off, and soon outside, she was rolling down the China Sea—homeward bound!

The English East India Company's ships were divided into two fleets, which came in alternate years. Each fleet consisted of about twenty vessels, a certain number of which were appointed for China *viâ* Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta, while the remainder were direct ships.

They were splendid vessels of 1,800 to 2,000 tons. Some belonged to the Company, others were chartered usually for a certain number of voyages. Many of them were built in India of teak. In time of war they sailed under convoy; the gun-deck then carried a suitable armament, of which good use was made in several encounters—notably in the southern part of the China Sea, when, under Admiral Duckworth, a French squadron was beaten off, and on other occasions in the Bay of Bengal. They sailed under the flag of the Company, which resembled that of the United States in its alternate red and white stripes, having for its field the English Jack. The discipline on board was that of a man-of-war, and they differed in no respect from one except that they did not fly the pennant or carry a special body of marines. Besides the commander, the officers were six in numbers, several midshipmen, surgeons, and purser, together with the usual com-

‡Presents to the captains and officers.

plement of warrant officers. Those of the fleet told off for India conveyed troops and munitions of war, for service in the Company's possessions there.

No finer sight of the kind could be seen in any part of the world than the Company's fleet collected at Whampoa, with their inward cargoes discharged, and every ship in beautiful order, waiting for teas. Those formidable vessels were not of the modern clipper model, but broad-backed, with swelling sides and full bows. On board everything was neat, everything indicated system, discipline, and force. The oldest captain (in date) daily hoisted his pennant as Commodore. Daily one of the ship's boats came to Canton in rotation, independently of others on individual service. The hospitality of the captains and officers was generous, and, as some of them had bands on board, it was a treat indeed to be included amongst the guests. The 'Vansittart's' band even came to Canton to play in the Factory on one occasion, and regaled the entire community by playing in the Square. The music attracted many Chinese also, it being to them a wonderful novelty. The bandsmen wore a uniform of red coats. We were all looking on and listening, when suddenly a Chinaman exclaimed, 'What for he makee so muchee noisee?' 'Noise!' said one of the barbarians; 'may Fo* run away with you—that no belong noise, belong music. You no likee?' 'Hae-yah! † my how can likee, all make mixee—*my* China music No. 1; *he* too muchee foolo!' What he would have added we couldn't tell, but suddenly he darted off crying, out, 'What for you kick my,' and made the best of his way up Old China Street. Soon afterwards the crowd became so numerous and so noisy that to avoid further 'complications' the band was withdrawn inside the Company's Factory and the Square cleared, and not very quietly, as the Chinamen's bare heads resounded with the thwacks which were laid on them, but it took place with great celerity. That was the first and only time a foreign band of music was heard to play in the Square.

Exports by 'country ships' to India consisted of tea, coarse porcelain, paper umbrellas, silks, and a multitude of 'chow-chow' articles, together with enormous quantities of silver and bar gold. For the latter a special chop, called 'money chop,' had to be obtained from the Hoppo. It was these repeated shipments of treasure that attracted the attention of the local authorities, and through whose reports in connection with the foreign commerce of the port they were made known to the Government at Peking. As a natural result, Imperial edicts were sent down forbidding shipments of such quantities of money, as being for the purchase of 'foreign mud,' to be introduced by stealth into the 'Middle Kingdom,' against prohibitions successively issued, warning all engaged in the trade 'to desist and not

*Buddha.

†A very common exclamation on any occasion.

to incur the Imperial displeasure,' while any Chinese cooperating in it were to be severely punished. But the immunity so long enjoyed, with the inherent weakness of the Chinese Government, caused foreigners to believe that any serious attempt to put a stop to the trade was simply impracticable. The Imperial edicts were considered as so much waste paper. Opium was imported and sold, while 'the oozing out of fine silver' went on as usual.

* * *

Of the 'Outside' Chinese Merchants several were of much consideration, and of an integrity and intelligence in business unsurpassed by the mercantile classes of any other country. Such men were Washing, Cumwa, Linchong, Wo-Yun, Yeeshing, Keet-Chong, and others. An incident in relation to Yeeshing, serving as an illustration both of his honesty and unselfishness, may be related.

On the occasion of the great fire in 1822, enormous quantities of private property and of merchandise were destroyed, and opportunities offered when, without the possibility of discovery, the latter, particularly, could have been concealed and reported as having been consumed by the flames. Mr. John P. Cushing, of the house of Perkins & Co., had placed with Yeeshing 5,000 pieces of crapes to be dyed, whose value was about \$50,000. There was, of course, no insurance upon them, nothing of the kind existing at Canton. A day or two after the fire Yeeshing entered Mr. Cushing's office, exclaiming, 'Hae-yah Hae-yah!' 'Well, Yeeshing,' enquired Mr. C., 'how fashion?' To which he replied, 'My have loosum my house, my shop—all finishy, too muchee trub.' Mr. C. began to express his sympathy, with the conviction that he too was involved in the loss, when Yeeshing continued, 'My alla finishy, only when my take out you crape (to save it) hav loosum 84 peecee, how can my, no too muchee trub?' He had saved Mr. Cushing's crapes, but had lost his own dwelling and its contents, with an important quantity of his own goods and chattels, in doing so.

Keet-Chong, named above, possessed an estate on French Island, on which his family had resided for more than 800 years. It was of moderate extent, the dwelling spacious, and, as he used to say, 'all thing no have changee.' He showed me on one occasion his genealogical tree (which Chinese families keep with scrupulous care), and which ascended, according to it, to the Sung Dynasty (967 to 1281 A.D.). This dynasty immediately preceded the Yuen, or Mongol Tartar, family, the great emperor of which was Kublai Khan, grandson of 'Jengis Khan.'

The custom exists among Chinese of not using their family names in business, either for firms or individuals. They assume certain designations by which they are known, are responsible, and recognised by the authorities. As examples, Houqua, whose family name was Woo (from which *How*), was known commercially as 'Ewo.' Pwantingqua, whose family name was Pwan, was known as 'Tung Foo,' and the family name of 'Washing' was Moo. The choice of these names is singularly diversified and sometimes very droll. In passing through any business street you see on a small sign attached to a pillar at the side of a door such firms as 'Peace and Quiet,' 'Current Gains,' 'Collective Justice,' 'Perfect Concord,' 'United Concord.' I have seen 'Tan-E' (which means literally 'Solitary Idea'), 'Perfect Record,' 'Three Unities.' Where something of a more imposing nature is chosen—as, for instance, 'George and Thomas Sandbank, Sons and Nephews'—a double name, such as 'The Record of Perpetual Harmony,' would be adopted. One is struck with the use of short inscriptions on narrow sheets of red paper over doorways, at the foot of stairs, over weights and measures, everywhere and on everything almost. On entering an outer door you observe above it, 'May the Five Happinesses enter the abode' (longevity, riches, posterity, love of virtue, and a natural death), while within may be seen, 'May wealth flow in abundantly;' and not a bad one, 'For idle persons there is no admittance.' 'As wheels revolve, so may supplies and sales continue;' 'Customers come in numbers, like the gathering of clouds;' 'Here are sold superior goods, in whose prices there is no change;' 'Rich customers are perpetually welcome;' 'Daily may there be weighed 10,000 taels' (May the transactions amount to that sum); 'From a single cash, may 10,000 be derived' (these last two may be seen over scales and weights); and so each object has its peculiar, if not appropriate, device. You read on each one of a pile of water-tubs, 'The bucket of superlative peace;' on chests, 'The box of great tranquillity;' over inner doors, 'May happiness attend the opening of the door;' and over shelves and drawers, 'When opened, may prosperity follow;' at the top of a stairway, 'May the going up or down be calm and peaceful.' On the sterns and bows of boats and junks you may read, 'Prosperous gales and smooth seas' (which in Canton jargon is simplified to the usual expression 'Good wind, good water'); 'Grant favourable breezes;' 'A fair wind is riches;' 'The moon's rays shine upon and enliven the waters;' 'The dragon's head produces horns of gold' (an allusion to the bows of a junk, which are supposed to represent the head with the large eyes of the dragon), signifying, 'May the voyage be successful.'

* * *

The first foreign newspaper published at Canton was in 1827; it was called the 'Canton Register,' and was printed on a small hand-press

lent for the purpose by Mr. Alexander Matheson, of the then house of Magniac & Co.† Its size was but a little more than that of a large sheet of foolscap. The editor, who himself was the first compositor, was a young American gentleman named Wood, of Philadelphia, and son of the celebrated tragedian. He was a person of great versatility, mentally and materially; he abounded in wit, was well read, and of no fixed purpose. Having ceased to be connected with the 'Register,' he entered the office of Messrs. Russell & Co. about the same time with young Irving, a nephew of Washington Irving. One day, one of our Parsee friends, Nanabhoy Framjee, came in for bills on London 'in small pamphlets' (moderate amounts each), and it was Wood's business to fill them up. Our office, one of three, was the general rendezvous of Russell & Co.'s captains, and on the day in question five or six of them were present, talking over purchases in carpenter's square of camphor-wood trunks, lacquered ware boxes, writing desks, &c. The bills having been made out were left on Mr. Low's desk for signature. Suddenly from the 'Tai-Pan's' office we heard a great shout of laughter, and that gentleman appeared. 'Wood,' said he, handing him one of the bills, 'I doubt if Baring's will accept this, or even Nanabhoy take it; read it over.' Wood did so, and to his confusion saw that B. B. & Co. were requested to pay to the order of Nanabhoy Framjee, Esq., 'one hundred lacquered ware boxes,' which in his absence of mind he had caught up from the skippers. Not very long after, Wood took up his quarters in the French Factory, and established a second newspaper, called the 'Chinese Courier,' which had but a short existence. Amongst his other accomplishments was that of sketching, for which he had a remarkable talent, and he was, moreover, a maker of verses! One evening at dinner at his house, several being at table, the conversation ran upon poetry, and some impromptu verses having been made, something led to a challenge to Wood to parody Byron's 'Know'st thou the land,' confining the words entirely to local matters and things. He accepted the challenge, and when we again met he read after dinner the following, on which we congratulated him, as being good for Canton!

Know'st thou the land where the nankin and tea-chest,

With cassia and rhubarb and camphor, abound?

Where oft in the Hong, by the coolies' foul feet pressed,

They pack their Boheas in a way to astound?

†The late Sir James Matheson was the reputed founder of the foreign press in China (*The Canton Register*); but it was an open question whether it was he or Mr. Wood. I contributed to that paper (translations from Chinese) when started; but in the consequent daily intercourse with Wood, he never hinted that he was not its sole founder. If my memory serves me Sir James was at the time on a trip up the coast. Nevertheless there is but one 'old Canton' who can decide the point, the present Sir Alexander Matheson.

Know'st thou the land where in vain you endeavour
To sell your fair longcloths or barter your yarn?
Where you fidget and fret, be you never so clever,
And find all your profits are going 'astarn'?

Know'st thou the land where the drug in its glory,
With cotton and betel-nut, govern the day?
Where Patna or Malwa's the theme of each story,
The life of each anecdote, solemn or gay?

Know'st thou the land where the fair, unprotected
By the lords of their destinies, wither alone?
Where woman's a slave, by her tyrants neglected,
And the only bright jewel they sigh not to own?

Where lips which were formed to breathe of devotion
To affectionate spouses or lovers provoke;
Instead of confessing their tender emotion,
Give forth all their sensitive feelings in *smoke*?

'Tis the land we now live in—the land that would shame
The world by its valour, invention, and worth;
Where the page of her history glows with the name
Of her sage,* and her warrior,† the pride of the earth;

Where tea is the potion great deeds to inspire,
And emperors deign (and if *they*, who will not?)
To watch the decoction, themselves, on the fire,
And write prosy odes to the 'pride of the pot.'

Tho 'fairest Hwâ-Te‡ are thy gardens of flowers,
And sweet every blossom that flings to the breeze
Its perfume, decks with its tints thy gay bowers,
Or clings on its vine to thy moss-covered trees;

Yet fairer the lands we have all left behind us,
And gayer the flowers and purer the air.
Do we need in our exile this rhyme to remind us
Of the hearts that are glowing with love for us there?

*Confucius.

†Kung-Ming, a celebrated warrior of the third century A.D.

‡Celebrated gardens, near Canton, visited by foreigners.

Farewell then to tea-chests; the loosened sail flying

Expands to the breeze and chides our delay;

Now past is the parting, the 'chin-chin,' the sighing

Of all the poor 'devils' who can't get away!

Wood and a brother resident, an Irishman named Keating, had at one time a 'little difficulty.' Mr. Augustine Heard acted for him, and Mr. James Innes, an 'old school' and eccentric Scotchman, for the latter. Much correspondence took place between them as to where the question should be washed out in 'blood.' One side chose French Island, at Whampoa; the other Lintin, as being beyond the interference of the Chinese authorities in case of 'accident;' but through the good sense of the 'best men,' and to the gratification of common friends, the dispute was arranged—because, as Wood said, 'There was no abbey in which to lay a body.' After a residence of nearly ten years at Canton, Wood removed to Manila, and established himself on a coffee and sugar plantation at Jala-Jala. His letters from this new abode were full of wit and mirthful to a degree, even in describing bad crops caused by visits from Messrs. Taiphon, Drought & Co., or the destruction of his fences by wild buffaloes, while he never could get a night's sleep from the many snakes of preposterous dimensions which made themselves 'at home' in his bungalow, and pursued the most 'harmless' of rats across the ceiling, up and down posts, and across the floors, 'under his very eyes.' At length he quitted Jala-Jala and joined the office of Messrs. Russell & Sturgis, at Manila. Under their generous auspices and considerate kindness he ever after found there a home.

He was the first person to introduce the art of photography in Manila, and through his teaching many Mestizos§ became proficient, and practise it now as a profession. He made one short visit to Europe, from which he returned delighted, and one to myself at Macao (thirty years after we first met at Canton). At length for poor Wood the 'tolling of the bell' was heard; he died, full of years, after an extraordinary life of great personal worth, great unsteadiness of purpose, and, as far as worldly success went, a great unsuccess.

* * *

Under certain circumstances foreign residents could 'offer up' petitions at the city gates! It was a privilege that had its origin a long while ago. At the same time it was discouraged by the authorities, while strict orders were given to the guards at the gates to keep a sharp lookout and close them if any number of barbarians were known to be approaching. This old custom originated in some question, such as praying

§The offspring of European Spaniards and natives.

for a diminution of duties (all duties being more or less arbitrary), or for permission to ship off an extra weight of silks, which was fixed at a certain number of piculs per vessel,* and called the 'silk privilege,' or on some matter affecting their personal comfort. The Co-Hong frequently co-operated with us, recommended our petitioning, and even themselves made a draft paper. Answers to these petitions were invariably received, when the Hong merchants would prepare for us a rejoinder, if necessary.

Great precautions were taken to keep the intention as quiet as possible, consequently all who were disposed to join a party in presenting a petition were advised in time. None were more anxious to accompany it than the younger members of the community, who considered it great fun! To refer to a particular case, directly in front of the American Factory, at the river side, there existed a huge mound of earth and rubbish that had its origin with the great fire of 1822. While the new Factories were going up and the damaged ones being repaired the workmen and coolies threw all sorts of rubbish on the spot. Subsequently it became a depository of refuse of all sorts, and finally a resort of loathsome beggars, of whom many died on it; but beyond obtaining the carrying away of the dead bodies, all efforts by the foreigners to get the whole thing removed had proved ineffectual.

The Hong merchants now and then sent a number of coolies, but they made small impression upon it; and at length, mostly at their suggestion that it was 'Mandarin pigeon,' it was resolved to present a petition at the city gates, which they themselves prepared and we copied.

On the day agreed upon, therefore, the party going were quietly advised and informed at which gate to meet. Taking different streets in small numbers of three or four, all drew towards the 'petition gate,' as we called it, and suddenly with a rush entered it. The surprise of the guards was complete. They hastily closed the ponderous outer gate to prevent the Chinese entering and possibly creating a row. Seeing the petition on red paper held up above our heads, they knew from experience the object of our visit, and forthwith despatched a messenger to the Hoppo's 'Ya-Mun.† Any annoyance caused us by Chinese lookers-on or by any who tried to crowd about us called for prompt 'whipping' by the soldiers, as was always the case, letting foreigners have their own way, and laying it well over the shoulders of their own countrymen who attempted any interference or who did not 'move on' fast enough. It happened that on a previous occasion of petitioning an unpleasant incident occurred, which arose from a fancied insult; blows had been exchanged, and certain words

*The privilege was 140 piculs weight.

†Public office.

used by an excited member of the foreign party in reference to the soldiers became a tradition, 'Knock them down, friend Olyphant, they are only tea and rice,' and the best of the joke was that the speaker was a Quaker and Mr. Olyphant one of the quietest men in the world, and the last person to strike any one.

Such exhibitions were much to be deplored as encouraging the belief that foreigners were indeed 'unruly devils'—a pugnacious, wild, boisterous people. Presently we heard the sound of the gong and the loud cries of lictors preceding the Mandarin calling out his rank and office as well as keeping the street clear. The space between the large outer and inner gate is the thickness of the wall, about thirty feet, and twelve to eighteen feet broad, the quarters of the guard, about twenty or twenty-five in number, being in recesses on either side, and in this space petitions are received. The Ta-Yin (great man) having entered with other Mandarins and attendants, after salutations and surprise at seeing so many foreigners, they seated themselves on chairs brought by their followers. He then commenced by telling us of the extreme impropriety of entering the gates in opposition to the will of the 'Son of Heaven,' cautioned us to be wary how we did the like again, lest we might check the flow of Imperial benevolence towards all coming from a distance, etc., etc., which was the usual opening formula, when a Linguist being found cut and dried on the spot (sent privately by the Hong merchants), stepped forward, knelt on both knees, and 'handed up' the petition. In the meantime it was a strange sight to see the houses, shop doors, and windows inside the city full to overflow of Chinese, intently looking on in profound stillness and curiosity.

His Excellency, having read the paper, said in placing it in the hands of an officer that a communication would be sent to the Hong merchants, 'that we must return to our Factories, be henceforth reverently obedient, when all would be well, otherwise His Sacred Majesty, Ruler of all under the Sun, notwithstanding that he was the incarnation of consideration for all beyond the Western Ocean, might be provoked to withdraw his beneficent,' etc., etc. 'That the laws of the Celestial Empire must be obeyed,' and this was the closing formula.

Business being thus ended, a disposition was shown for a little conversation. Acting as interpreter, I was invited to speak of the distance of our countries from the 'Celestial Flowery Land,' how many moons it took to come and to return; all which was done in laying great stress upon the clear light of day into which we emerged as we left our own gloomy shores and approached the 'Middle Kingdom'! Questions were asked as to our respective nationalities, our names also; and in their

attempts to repeat such as Zacharia, Krieroffski, Burr, and Brown, they turned to one another and laughed heartily at their unsuccessful efforts. The teapot and servants to prepare the infusion being indispensable in the suite of Mandarins (as well as pipe-bearers), tea was presently offered to us; we in exchange 'offered up' Manila cheroots. No one exhibited the slightest impatience, no matter how many hundreds of Chinese were obliged outside or inside, to make great détours to reach other gates.

The Mandarins being provided with two watches each, next began a comparison of time; they asked our ages, how long we had lived within the 'benign sway of that 'Almighty Ruler' under whose protecting wings we found ourselves; and being assured, in reply to other enquiries, that in our distant countries now and then a sun, very occasionally two or three moons, with a rare glimmer of a star, might be seen, they rose from their seats, took leave, and were soon out of sight. The great gate was then opened after a violent effort, with a loud grating of its enormous hinges and the 'foreign devils' returned to the Factories, after an hour or two agreeably passed. The petition in question resulted in the Hong merchants receiving orders for the immediate removal of the unsightly mound, of course at their expense. They were effectually carried out and the ground was levelled off. It then became the favourite resort of the Indian servants of Parsee and Moormen residents.

* * *

Until the summer of 1829 the most important of the American houses was that of Perkins & Co. It was the oldest one existing, without change of name, of all the foreign firms, having been established soon after a visit made by Mr. Thomas H. Perkins with two vessels to Canton in 1798. The house was represented until 1807 by Mr. Bumstead, who was then succeeded by Mr. Cushing. For comparison with the size of merchant ships at the present day, it may be noted that this gentleman came out in the ship 'Levant' (Captain Proctor), of 264 tons! Mr. Cushing became a partner in the Boston firm of J. and T. H. Perkins, and managed that of Perkins & Co., of which he was also a partner continuously until 1828, without leaving Canton; when he returned to Boston in the ship 'Milo,' arriving there on September 17.

To Mr. Cushing succeeded Mr. Thomas T. Forbes, who, on returning from a visit to Macao in his yacht, was unfortunately drowned in a taiphoon on August 9, 1829, together with Mr. S. H. Monson, the book-keeper of Russell & Co. On this sad event taking place, amongst his papers was found a sealed letter addressed to Russell & Co. It requested them, in case of accident to himself, to take charge of the local business of his own firm, as well as that of J. and T. H. Perkins. They did so, and naturally came with it that of Houqua, who had been the intimate personal friend

of Mr. Cushing during his unbroken residence of over twenty years in Canton.

When the news of Mr. Forbes's death reached him, Mr. Cushing was in England, where the 'Bashaw' (Captain Pearson), one of the ships of his Boston firm, was loading for Whampoa. He returned to Canton in her, arriving in the month of August 1830. Arrangements were then definitely concluded by which Russell & Co. were officially appointed sole agents for the Boston house, that of Perkins & Co. being wound up, while the important foreign business of Houqua was then also definitely secured to them.

Towards the close of 'ante-treaty' days, the house met with a serious loss in the violent death of another bookkeeper, Mr. George C. Perkins, of Boston. He entered the office as assistant book-keeper,* and subsequently took charge of that important branch of the business. He was about thirty years of age, very systematic and methodical, a well-read man, and of most agreeable manners. He left Macao on a visit to the United States, and was returning by the way of San Francisco to resume the duties of his office. Having arrived near Hong Kong, he left the ship in which he had crossed the Pacific, for Macao in a fast boat with all his baggage. Supposing it to contain gold, coming from the 'God Hills' (by which name California is known to the Chinese), the cupidity of the boatmen was excited. They threw Perkins overboard in the Lantao Channel, and he was drowned. On the event made known to the Canton authorities, their search for the boatmen was so energetic that they were soon discovered in the midst of a number of fast boats anchored in Anson's Bay, and beheaded.

* * *

The year 1830 was an unprecedented one in the annals of foreign life at Canton, by reason of the coming to the Factories of several English and American ladies from Macao, in 'direct opposition to old regulations.' The Mandarins were thoroughly at their wits' ends by so extraordinary an occurrence. 'Chops' began to circulate freely. The ladies were ordered to leave forthwith, and without one moment's delay, otherwise the 'Son of Heaven,' 'so considerate for all beyond the sea,' would withdraw his compassion, and, and—in fact, had the world been coming to an end, the authorities could not have been more thoroughly alarmed. In a letter written at the time, I find the following, dated April 8, 1830:—

Went in the morning to the 'Company's' chapel with several Americans to hear the Rev. Mr. Vachell preach, and to see the 'foreign devil females,' as the Chinamen call them. They were Mrs. Baynes, wife of the Chief of the Factory, Mrs. Robinson, and Mrs. Fearon,

*At Macao, 1841.

but *she* is the beauty of the party! Mrs. B. was dressed in true London style, which, much admired by us, is considered 'frightful' by the Chinese. It was quite a strange thing to see foreign ladies in the 'Celestial Empire,' an occurrence which had never before taken place! After a few days they left, but not until the mandarins threatened to stop all trade!

On November 12 of the same year I find the following:—

What will Canton turn into, and where will bachelors find rest? Nowhere. Mrs. and Miss Low and other ladies are at this moment here! The second day after they arrived several old coogers were seen in immense coats, which had been stowed away in camphor trunks for ten or fifteen years, and with huge cravats on, and with what once were gloves, on their way to make visits!

13th.—Called on the Tai-pan's wife and niece, and entertained them with descriptions of local worthies such as 'Houqua,' 'Mouqua,' and 'Gowqua,' 'Man-Hop,' 'Wa-Hop,' and 'Tung-Hop'—a jumble they had never heard of, and names that amused them immensely.

22nd.—Evening Church service at Talbot's, the Consul, at No. 1 American Hong. The ladies and a good number of gentlemen present. At half-past nine we accompanied the former to show our fashionable street, Old China Street, its shops shut at that hour; but some Chinamen passing began to cry out, 'Foreign devil women!' when instantly every door was opened and lantern appeared. In less than ten minutes we were completely surrounded, and had to beat a hasty retreat. We were not at all molested; it was simply surprise and curiosity; and on arriving at the gate of the Hong everyone quietly dispersed.

24th.—The Chinese are not so far out in calling us barbarians. Two or three from No. 2 Suy-Hong called on the ladies. Coats, gloves, and cravats—such cravats! I heard one say when he returned, 'Thank Good that is over!' and then call for jacket and black neck-ribbon! He next lighted a cheroot, and looked as if a great burthen were off his mind. In the evening dined at Charles N. Talbot's; all bachelors, of course! A fine little party; but I dissipated too much, and the sooner bedtime comes the better. Bad habit of dining out in this country; I think I shall swear off, no getting home without being observed! I hope the ladies in No. 1 did not see me come in!

30th.—The ladies took their departure this evening. They went on board the boat that was to convey them, escorted by all the American gentlemen. While returning from Jackass Point an

inveterate bachelor said, 'I hope we shall never be *bothered* with ladies in Canton again!' but he was a notoriously crusty old fellow.

* * *

Having lost a fine retriever named Rover, and an English friend a small pug named Bop, I caused a 'reward-card, to be posted on the walls of Chungqua's Hong. As these 'cards' have a peculiar phraseology, I give a translation of the one in question:—

On the 10th day of the 1st moon of the present year two foreign dogs strayed, one from the Suy-Hong and one from the Dutch Hong, and have not been seen to return. Long ears and a long tail adorned the one, which had also a brown star on its breast, the body being of the colour of 'fragrant ink.' The other was a small dog, with cropped ears and a tail of no length. His body was spotted in variegated colours of brown and white. The larger dog was named 'Lo-Wa,' and the smaller 'Po-Pa.'

This is to give notice that should any 'superior man' know where they are, or if they have been 'misled,' and will inform, he shall be rewarded with *flowered red money*—two great rounds† for the big one, and one great round for the little one. Even should they have been *stolen* (*an inconceivable thing!*), if the person who took them will bring them to Suy-Hong No. 2 he shall still be rewarded, and clemency used towards him. This placard is real; its words will not be eaten.

Taou-Kwang: 14th year, 15th day, 1st moon.

The poor dogs were never found, and the Compradore insisted upon it that 'some man hav chow-chow he,' and we supposed so too.

* * *

On February 27, 1831, Mr. Russell and Mr. Cushing took their final leave of Canton in the 'Bashaw' (Captain Pearson), for Boston, the former with the satisfaction of having founded a house in that distant port which, under his sagacious management, had secured the confidence and consideration of the entire foreign and Chinese mercantile community, as well as of its numerous foreign correspondents in all quarters of the world. Its present world-wide reputation renders it needless to say that it still exists, and has become one of the oldest, if not *the* oldest firm whose style has undergone no change eastward of the Cape of Good Hope. Mr. Russell was a native of Middletown, Connecticut, a person of singularly gentle and benevolent disposition. There was about him a suavity and charm of manner which under no circumstances ever deserted him. Throughout a long life he enlisted the esteem and respect of all who knew him. Of his

†Whole dollars were so called put up in red paper—a neat way of paying small sums.

considerate forbearance under great provocation I can vouch from personal experience. From my first entrance in the office he was desirous that I should make myself acquainted with book-keeping. Its mysteries he first taught me. However incorrectly the tyro appreciated the relative bearing of successive transactions or bungled in recording them, he was corrected with a patience and kindness of manner that knew no bounds, and the encouragement he thus received at length led him to a clear idea of the respective value of debit and credit, as well as to the knowledge that they were 'the two factors which formed the base of all mercantile transactions.'

The younger members of the office, as a slight testimony to the paternal kindness which they had received from their worthy 'Tae-pan,' invited him to dine with them, to consider himself as their guest, at a 'parting dinner.' He graciously accepted, and seemed pleased at the idea. We invited Mr. Cushing and his old friend Houqua. The latter could not be present, but sent us a very choice bird's-nest soup for the occasion. We sent to Manila for a *fine* turkey, and on its arrival put it out to board on Honam, with injunctions that it should be well fed. The turkey was a very rare bird at Canton and supplies came from Manila. Ours looked rather haggard on arrival, and the Compradore attributed it to its being 'very tired,' but added that it would be No. 1 when killed, fat and presentable. The day came, and with it the dinner. At the proper moment a great dish was placed upon the table and the cover removed in triumphant way, only to exhibit, to our horror, a lot of legs and wings of the turkey, but as to body next to nothing!

Not the least remarkable feature of Old Canton life was the 'Factory,' as the common dwelling and common place of business of all the members, old and young, of a commercial house. The system begat mutual confidence. All affairs, past, present, and future, were discussed at the table, and became as familiar to the clerks as they were to the partners. While the latter imparted their own views and experiences, the former benefited by them. The knowledge thus acquired was applied, each in his special department, to a more intelligent co-operation, which contributed to a general harmony in current affairs or special enterprises. And so also in regard to other subjects. The younger members had the advantage through this daily 'family' intercourse of acquiring much useful information on a diversity of subjects. There were few if any Principals who had not had in different parts of the world experience of men and things, who had not adventures to relate—how unexpected difficulties were overcome or chance advantages availed of. In daily exercises or pastimes all associated together; whether for walking, for boating or sight-seeing, 'Tai-pans' and 'pursers' shared them together. Should one of the former

take the helm today, and one of the latter an oar, to-morrow saw the order reversed.

At length, as the elders retired, leaving, as was always the case, vast and important affairs in course of execution, they did so with the conviction that their successors possessed the qualifications to carry them on to a logical termination, as well as to initiate new ones.

* * *

Before leaving us Mr. Russell had placed me in charge of the books and accounts. We were excessively busy during the year, as, in addition to orders for teas, those for manufactured silks were unprecedentedly large. In May I was on the sick list; Doctor Bradford* sent me to Macao in July for change of air, whence I returned in October. A serious relapse took place in December, and, as a 'last chance,' passage was taken for me in a small ship called the 'Howard,' of about 400 tons, for New York. It was supposed the 'sea air' might have a good effect. I was carried to the ship in such a state as to leave small hope of reaching New York alive. We sailed from Whampoa early in February 1832. (To replace me in the office, George R. Sampson was engaged, afterwards Sampson and Tappan, Boston). Down the China Sea the weather and progress were good; we passed out into the Indian Ocean between Pulo Crockatoa and Prince's Island, which took us ten days. We had a light 'trade' to the Cape; there we were met by a succession of north-westerly gales, which detained us twenty-two days. We were becalmed on the Equator a long time; but at length arrived at New York, on the 162nd day, my health perfectly restored.

I was delighted to meet again Mr. Samuel Russell, then at the 'Clinton Hotel,' as genial and kindly as always. He asked me to breakfast, to meet Mr. Joseph Coolidge, Junior, about to leave for the office at Canton, and afterwards I was invited to make him a visit at Middletown, where I had the pleasure to make the acquaintance of Mrs. Russell, a charming, quiet lady, whose reception of me was of the kindest.

The 'Roman' was now again fitting out for Canton, under my old shipmate, Captain Lavender. He had made several voyages in the 'America,' belonging to Mr. Thomas H. Smith. Mr. Olyphant consented to my going in the ship, and there was no other passenger on board. It was not yet the usage for China ships to take passengers, nor would they take general letters. We sailed on October 25, 1832, after a very short stay at home. This time we took the Gilolo passage into the Pacific. At five a.m. of March 5, 1833, we made Fo-Ki Point, on the coast of 'teas, silks, and cassia,' and at 5.30 p.m. anchored under the peak of Lantao, in

*The resident physician of the foreign community, apart from the Honourable East India Co. He was from Philadelphia.

the Lantao Channel, in 131 days' passage. Lavender despatched a fast boat to his agents at Canton, Messrs. Olyphant & Co., advising his arrival, while I took another and arrived at the Factories in the evening of the 9th.

Thus ended a second 'run home' (as those trips were euphemistically called) of a year each. These 'runs,' however, were in reality nine months of listening to 'what the wild waves were saying,' 'and wandering about at home,' unknowing and almost unknown, for three months; to being subjected, while there, to sleep on mattresses and pillows filled with feathers in the summer months, with the thermometer at any height you please, instead of on the clean, cool, hard rattan mat or mattress of bamboo shavings, as in Canton, where it was rarely over 96° at midnight.

It was not until eleven more years had passed that I took another 'run.' This was from Macao in 1844 in the 'Prince of Wales,' of Bombay (Captain Jones), to Galle, then in the steamer 'Seaforth,' from Colombo, *viâ* Cannanore and Mangalore, to Bombay, with a trip to Mahablehwar and Poonah for 'sight-seeing;' then to Aden and back to Bombay in the East India Company's steamer 'Atalanta;' thence to Macao, *viâ* Singapore, in the splendid new clipper 'Mohr,' of about 280 tons, belonging to Messrs. Jardine, Matheson, & Co., and commanded by 'my old friend,' Fraser, who was second officer of the 'Good Success' in 1825, to Singapore.

* * *

At the end of 1833 we had the misfortune to lose our estimable chief Mr. W. H. Low, whose health failed from incessant application to the duties of his responsible position. He took passage in the Company's ship 'Waterloo,' for England, with his family, and some months after we heard of his death at the Cape.

* * *

The same year was notable for the hitherto unprecedented event of the marriage at Macao of a young American lady, Miss Shillaber, of Boston, to Doctor Thomas R. Colledge, of the Company's 'Factory.' It was a brilliant affair, and celebrated with more than usual *éclat* from its novelty.

* * *

The quitting of Canton by the Honourable East India Company in 1833 was succeeded by the arrival of Lord Napier on July 25, 1834, as 'Chief Superintendent of the English Trade.' His lordship landed in a boat belonging to the country ship 'Fort William.' This vessel being secured by the Hong merchant 'Sun-Shing,' he was held responsible, conducted into the city and imprisoned. As Her Majesty's representative declined to correspond with the Viceroy through the Hong merchants, the latter issued a proclamation on September 5, in which he spoke of this 'contumacy' as a breach of the existing laws and regulations of the Empire

—of his Lordship having come to Canton officially, without the permission of His Imperial Majesty, and requested him to return to Macao pending a reference to Pekin; adding that, if he refused to leave for Macao, no Chinese should serve him in any capacity. The proclamation, being pasted on a thin board, was suspended at the gate of his Lordship's (the East India Co.) Factory and guarded by about twenty soldiers. No sooner was this done, than the Chinese within the building, half frightened to death, and fearing that the soldiers would enter, rushed upstairs and reported what had taken place. Lord Napier, who was at dinner with Sir George Best Robinson and others, instantly left the table and came down to the gate. The proclamation was at once removed, and, apprehensive of something serious, Lord Napier despatched a messenger to Captain Blackwood, of H.M.S. 'Imogene,' then outside the Bogue, to send him a guard of a dozen marines, and to come with his own vessel and her consort, the 'Andromache,' to Whampoa with all despatch. This being done, his lordship retired inside the Factory with his suite, and the gate was bolted. At midnight Sir George left Canton in a small cutter to join the two frigates. Very soon the marines arrived at the Factory, the Square was filled with Chinese soldiers, and war junks and boats were gathered on the river. All communication with the Whampoa shipping was cut off, and orders were issued that no English boats should come to the city. The Viceroy had also requested the American merchants not to allow boats from their vessels to come up except on urgent business. It is needless to add that the whole foreign trade of the port was entirely stopped. At the time the disturbance took place, one of our captains, Hepburn, of the ship 'Nile,' was in the Factory, and having been assured by the Linguist that he should be provided with a Chinese boat to take him to Whampoa, had sent his own back to the ship. On the 6th, when ready to start, we found that the Linguist could not procure one. I therefore ordered my own, a small schooner yacht, the 'Ferret,' to be made ready, and together we left Canton at four in the afternoon. We passed through a fleet of about fifty war boats, filled with men and armed to the teeth. Presently, to our surprise, we meet a small English cutter, having on board Captain St. Croix, of the 'Alexander Baring,' just arrived from London, on his way up with our despatches. I told him it was useless to attempt to get through, and brought him with us to the 'Nile.'

The next day, September 7, Mr. Coolidge, Mr. A. A. Low, and Mr. Cabot made their appearance; they had pulled down for the 'Baring's' letters, having heard of her arrival soon after I left. The 'Union' schooner next hove in sight, coming from Macao, with Mr. George R. Sampson and a Dutch gentleman, Mr. Vandermulen, on board. I took them out and brought them to the 'Nile.'

Later in the day, Coolidge, Low, and Cabot started with the 'Baring's' letters, in the hope of being able to get to the Factories; but on arriving at 'Houqua's' Fort, about half-way, first one and then another ball flew over their heads, which brought them to. A war boat came alongside, with a Linguist on board; he told them it was useless to attempt going on, as, owing to these troubles with the English, the Viceroy had issued an additional order, that to prevent 'the innocent from suffering with the guilty, no foreign boat could come to Canton.' They pulled back to the 'Nile.' We found ourselves, therefore, all prisoners at Whampoa, including another American, named Gorham. We styled ourselves 'the Canton refugees,' and threw ourselves upon the hospitality of our friends the captains of the six American vessels then at the anchorage. And this rather eventful day closed with a dinner on board the 'Coliseum' (Captain Stoddard), with whist in the evening on board the 'Nile.' The next day we dined on board the 'India' (Captain Cook, of Salem), and quartered ourselves upon our friends as follows:—Coolidge, Vandermulen, and myself, on board the 'Nile;' Low on board the 'York;' Cabot, Sampson, and Gorham, on board the 'Coliseum.'

September 26.—At last we have safely arrived back at our old quarters in the Factories, after being 'refugees' at Whampoa for just twenty days. The commotion is still great, and we are cautioned about going far from 'home.' The streets are full of rowdies and blackguards, who abuse us in words far from complimentary, and make signs as if beheading us! Nevertheless we are comfortable enough as far as 'Jackass Point' or Hog Lane, and can look up 'Old China Street' without bodily fear.

The return to Canton immediately after 'hostilities' had ceased by the departure of Lord Napier was worth making, if only to see the enormous preparations that had been made against an attempt by the boats of the frigates. We took the Junk river passage, and met with no obstructions until we had passed Houqua's Fort and got abreast of the 'Lob Creek' Pagoda. Here we were brought to and ordered to pull alongside of a large mandarin boat, crowded with a ferocious looking lot of fellows, and half-starved as well, to judge from the avidity with which they seized upon some biscuit we threw among them. We were in two boats—one with Captain Tonks, of the Bombay ship 'Lord Castlereagh,' Mr. Low, and Sampson, and my own small gig, with myself alone. A petty officer, wearing an opaque white button, got in Tonks's boat and directed him to a junk, on board of which was a Linguist, and I followed. We reached the Factories four and a half hours from Whampoa.

Correspondence between the Hong merchants (as intermediaries of the Viceroy) and Lord Napier, which his lordship would not comply with,

was the only mode that could be expected under the existing foreign and Chinese relations. The Viceroy could not set aside that yet unrepealed system, nor enter into personal communication with any foreign representative. To do so, special authority from the Imperial Government was indispensable. The entire difficulty therefore was caused by Her Majesty's representative persisting in requiring of the Viceroy that which the latter could not grant. Naturally the 'Napier War,' or, as locally called, the 'Napier fizzle,' was the result. It was coupled, too, with an entire stoppage of all foreign trade from September 2 to September 24, which was a very serious thing, and entirely unjustifiable in the absence of a declaration of war. The mortifying result was that Lord Napier had to renounce his expressed determination to remain in Canton. The British Government should either have obtained official recognition from Peking for their representative, or simply have appointed a Consul whose dignity could not have been infringed upon by his being placed on the same footing as Consuls of other foreign nations.

On September 21 Lord Napier quitted Canton with his suite for Macao. As the frigates proceeded towards the Bogue and Lintin, so did the two chop-boats of Lord Napier, *pari passu*, towards his destination by the inner passage. He was convoyed by several Chinese men-of-war boats. At length his Lordship arrived on the 26th. The humiliating end of his ineffectual attempt to correspond directly with the local government aggravated an illness brought on by the vexation and excitement he had undergone from the day of his landing from the 'Fort William's' boat, and on October 11 his Lordship died at Macao.

* * *

The years 1835 and 1836 were unmarked by any event out of the regular course. The business of the house was taking a great extension (purely as agency), but in 1837 occurred the failures in London of three important banking houses having a large American connection. We had negotiated their 'credits' for some of our constituents to a considerable amount for the payment of teas and silks. Those houses were Thomas Wilson & Co., George Wildes & Co., and Timothy Wiggin, commonly known as the three W's. These failures were within a short time of each other. On reference to our register of bills drawn, we found the total amount of which we had not yet received advice of payment or acceptance to be close upon 200,000*l*. They were all drawn on 'clean credits,' without 'collaterals' (which were not yet in vogue), and at six months' sight. We had confidence in our American constituents, but as the shipments occupied, say, four months in getting to market, and could only be sold at the usual credit of six months, very little margin of time existed. Our own credit, however, was the first consideration. One of our partners, then in Boston,

had in his charge a very large amount belonging to Houqua, who gave us an order on the former to hold at our disposal any sum required. Enclosing this, we directed remittances to be made to Messrs. Barings of a sufficiency to cover all such bills on the W's as could not be relied upon for payment by those for whose accounts they had been drawn, and simultaneously we informed Messrs. Barings that remittances would be made to them to provide for such bills, so that our signature could be promptly honoured.

Communication with the Western world was long in those days; there were even no 'clipper' ships yet. Accustomed, however, to such delays, we waited patiently the result. Our first advices were from London. They informed us that the writers, Messrs. B. B. & Co., would honour all bills bearing our name on the three bankrupt houses in question. This was a gratifying thing, as they had not yet received our communication above referred to. Everything worked with regularity. Some of the firms for whose accounts the bills had been drawn were ready to meet them, others furnished securities, and the ultimate loss was inconsiderable on the whole account. So rapid had been remittances from our Boston partner that, when the final account current was received at Macao from London, 1840-41, the balance of interest was in our favour, while Houqua was recouped in full as payments were made to our home partner by American constituents.

If I am not very much mistaken, 1837 was the first of those years ending with '7' which have become proverbial as attended with great commercial troubles in the Western world.

* * *

In the year 1838 (November) Mr. William Jardine took his departure from Canton. He founded in 1832 the house of Jardine, Matheson & Co., on the closing up of that of Magniac & Co., which until then had been under the management of Mr. Hollingworth Magniac. Mr. Jardine had been a surgeon in the marine service of the Honourable East India Company, and had made several voyages to Bombay and China. He had made the acquaintance of the celebrated 'Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy,' that prince of Eastern merchants, that philanthropist—the building of the hospital which now bears his name, and the construction of the Bund from the island of Bombay to Basseen, being amongst the numerous works which were carried out at his own expense for the comfort and welfare of his countrymen. He was, moreover, the first native inhabitant of the Presidency, and I think of India, on whom was conferred the dignity of Baronet by the British Government. The business transactions of Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy with Jardine, Matheson & Co. became of a colossal scale.

The vast commercial operation of Mr. Jardine seemed to be conducted with sagacity and judgment. He was a gentleman of great strength of character and of unbounded generosity. To him belongs the shipping of the first cargo of 'free teas' to London, at the end of the two hundred years of close monopoly of the East India Company. As a peculiarity of his character, it may be mentioned that, in his own private office in the Creek Factory, a *chair* was never seen—a hint to any who may be bothered with gossips or idlers during business hours!

A few days before Mr. Jardine's departure from Canton, the entire foreign community entertained him at a dinner in the dining-room of the East India Company's Factory. About eighty persons of all nationalities, including India, were present, and they did not separate until several hours after midnight. It was an event frequently referred to afterwards amongst the residents, and to this day there are a few of us who still speak of it.

Mr. Jardine was succeeded in the management of the house by Mr. (the late Sir James) Matheson, who finally left China on March 10, 1842, after a residence of about fifteen years. He was a gentleman of great suavity of manner and the impersonation of benevolence. As the 'Chinese Repository,' in noting his departure from Macao, said: 'On his leaving, the foreign community lost one of its most enterprising, able, and liberal members.'

* * *

On February 26, 1839, the execution of a Chinese, said to be an opium-dealer, took place in front of the American Factory. The officers had chosen the hours of the afternoon when nearly all the foreigners were away in their daily walks or on the river. The man was tied up and strangled in a twinkling, and all had rapidly returned up Old China Street with the body. On landing from our boats we found the few who had not been away collected in the Square, and heard from them what had happened. The only public notice that could be taken of this affair was to discontinue the daily hoisting of the national flags before our doors; nor were they re-hoisted until March 22, 1842.

The appointment of a 'Kin-Chae,' or Imperial Envoy, to Canton, for the express purpose of putting a stop to the opium trade, had now become known. This appointment—only made on an occasion calling for extreme measures—was conferred upon Lin-Tsih-Soo, and involved control not only over all the Canton authorities, but those of the southern and south-eastern provinces. His Excellency 'Lin' was the son of an independent gentleman of Tseuen-Chow in the province of Fuh-Keen who lived on the revenues of a porcelain manufactory, in which he himself had worked as a day labourer it was said.

The 'Kin-Chae' at length arrived at Canton on Sunday morning, at half-past eight o'clock of March 10. Two gentlemen and myself went on board of a small schooner lying off the Factories to witness his arrival. He was seated on board of a large official boat, with a few red- and blue-button Mandarins standing a little to the rear, so that we had an excellent view of him personally. He had a dignified air, rather a harsh or firm expression, was a large, corpulent man, with heavy black moustache and long beard, and appeared to be about sixty years of age. His own boat was followed by a great many others, on the sides of which, on a black ground, were painted in gold letters the rank of the principal occupants, while flags of various colours were displayed abaft. The crews were neatly dressed in new uniforms of red trimmed with white, and conical rattan hats of the same colours. These boats contained the principal officers of the city, civil and military, from the Viceroy to the Superintendent of the Salt Department. The walls of the 'Red Fort,' nearly opposite the Factories on the Honam shore, were lined with soldiers, as were those of the 'Dutch Folly,'* arrayed in bright new uniforms. Both shores of the river, every door and window, and every spot of standing ground, were thick with people. Everyone was observing the novel scene quietly and as curiously as ourselves. No other boat of any description was moving about; all were lying close to the shores, and a universal silence prevailed. Besides my companions and myself, not a 'foreign barbarian' was to be seen in the vast gathering.

On the 17th the Hong merchants, the Linguists, and the Compradores (except our own) were summoned to an audience of the 'Kin-Chae.' They obeyed it with fear and trembling. The object was to ascertain who, amongst the foreigners duly registered as occupying the Factories, and whose names had been forwarded to Peking eighteen months before, were still present and in the opium 'business.' Russell & Co. not having been included, our Compradore was not 'invited,' at which he appeared particularly delighted.

On the 18th the 'Kin-Chae' sent for the Hong merchants. They were charged with having connived at the opium trade, and his Excellency threatened to strangle some of them if it was not *instantly* put a stop to! They were also accused of allowing foreign dealers in 'smoke' to reside in their Factories, and were very much frightened, as one of them said, 'No have see so fashion before.' Forthwith they met in 'Consoo' to deliberate, and remained until late in the night.

On the same day the first edict from the 'Kin-Chae' to foreigners was issued. It ordered all opium held by them to be surrendered, and

*An old Chinese fort so called, east of the Factories.

that they should sign bonds to discontinue the trade, 'under penalty of death.' It became very clear that his Excellency was not to be trifled with.

On the 19th, Messrs. Matheson, Dent, Green, Wetmore, Dadabhoy Rustomjee, and Daniell met the Hong merchants at the Consol House, and were informed by them verbally of the commands of the 'Kin-Chae,' which were a repetition of the foregoing, with the addition that the opium was to be destroyed. Moreover, if his Excellency's orders were not complied with, the consequences would be serious. There were at this time 15,000 chests on board of the 'receiving ships' at Lintin, and 5,000 chests at the coast stations, and the cost of all over \$12,000,000.

The foreign community thought to propitiate the 'Kin-Chae,' after the receipt by them of his '*unalterable*' commands, by offering to give up a *certain* quantity. This had been suggested by the Hong merchants, who, no more than ourselves, supposed the 'Kin-Chae' to be serious in insisting upon *all* that was held. A meeting was therefore convened in the Danish Hong, on the night of March 21, at which nearly everyone was present, as were also the Hong merchants, who assembled in an adjoining room. They were as anxious as we were to avert the threatened trouble, should the 'Kin-Chae' not listen to 'reason,' as they expressed it. In fact, throughout, while we were prisoners in the Factories, as will be seen, for six weeks, under threat of death and constant, unheard-of pressure, they did what they could to alleviate our condition through appeals to the 'authorities of the City.' All this was done with very great risk to themselves. Their presence at the meeting was from a desire to know the decision to which it might come, that they could report it to the 'Kin-Chae,' as quickly as possible, and, in fact, we saw by his reply that it had been made known to him between five and seven on the morning of the 22nd.

An hour or two before the meeting, Houqua made his appearance at our office, and requested Mr. Green, the then chief, to add 150 chests of opium to the quantity he intended to offer on behalf of Russell & Co. to the general subscription, for which he himself would pay. The cost of these chests would be \$105,000! The gentlemen present at the meeting, on behalf of their firms subscribed 1,034 chests in all, of the value of \$725,000. These were offered to the 'Kin-Chae,' but disdainfully refused. All communication with the shipping at Whampoa was then cut off; quantities of soldiers collected near the Factories, as well as on the river, while several days before, all the gates opening to the rear of the Factories had been bricked up.

Before the promulgation of the 'Kin-Chae's' proclamation to foreigners, I was invited by the senior Hong merchant to translate from English into Chinese a communication that had been prepared by his Excellency,

conjointly with the Viceroy† and Lieutenant-Governor of Canton, addressed to Her Majesty the Queen of England. This arose from the original having been translated into English, and the Imperial Envoy was desirous to judge for himself if the latter version conveyed the sense of the Chinese. Having consented, I passed four hours of a very cold day at the Consol House in accomplishing the task. There were present a delegate from the Commissioner, a Mandarin of the fourth rank (light blue button), an inferior officer, Houqua's grandson, Mouqua and Kingqua, and two Linguists. The document was a most extraordinary one. Prominent is the bombastic style, the outcome of ages of dominion, ignorance of Western official forms through an absence of diplomatic intercourse. It said: 'In dealing in opium, regardless of the injury it inflicts upon the Chinese people, an inordinate thirst for gain controls the actions of these foreign merchants.' With an idea that the use of it was prohibited in England: 'We have heard that England forbids the smoking of opium (within its dominions) with the utmost rigour; hence it is clear that it is deleterious. Since, then, the injury it causes has been averted from England, is it not wrong to send it to another nation, and especially to China?' Then there is an appeal to personal feeling: 'How can these opium-sellers bear to bring to our people an article which does them so much harm, for an ever-grasping gain? Suppose those of another nation should go to England and induce its people to buy and smoke the drug—it would be right that You, Honoured Sovereign, should hate and abhor them. Hitherto we have heard that You, Honoured Sovereign, whose heart is full of benevolence, would not do to others that which you would not others should do to yourself.' The grandiloquent then appears: 'Our great Emperor maintains Celestial lands and foreign nations in equal favour; he rewards merit and punishes vice; and, as is the heart of heaven and earth pure and incorruptible, so is his own. The Celestial Dynasty rules over ten thousand‡ nations, and in the highest degree sheds forth its benign influence with equal majesty.' This is in the sense of grandeur or stateliness. It ended thus: 'By manifesting sincere and reverential obedience§ mutually will be enjoyed the blessings of great peace! Heaven will protect your Majesty; the Gods bless you, lengthen your years, and grant you a happy and an

†The capital of Canton province is Show-King-Foo, and was the residence of the Governor-General of Canton and Kwang-Se. Consequent upon the former becoming the seat of foreign trade, the Governor-General removed there, and second to him is the Lieutenant-Governor. He is now styled Viceroy.

‡Figurative for 'a great many.'

§These and similar expressions in Chinese official documents over which Western people make such an absurd fuss, are no more to be taken literally than the vulgarised form of 'your obedient servant.' In the present case 'reverential obedience' is to be taken as 'serious cooperation,' so the Blue Button pointed out to me.

honourable posterity.' I never heard if this document reached its destination.

On March 23, every Chinaman in the Factories, from the Compradore to the cook, left by order of the 'Kin-Chae,' and were threatened with decapitation if they dared to return. The day before, Mr. Lancelot Dent, chief of Messrs. Dent & Co., had been *invited* to enter the city and meet his Excellency, which he declined to do. Other but ineffectual attempts by the authorities to induce him to go were also made, when, on the 24th, Captain Charles Elliot, Her Majesty's Superintendent of Trade, arrived from Macao, and immediately assumed charge, on behalf of the English residents, of the perplexing question of the 'total surrender of the opium.' The street in rear of the Factories was now filled with soldiers, a strong guard also placed in the 'Square,' and a triple cordon of boats drawn up from the Creek to the Danish Factory. The whole community were thus prisoners in the hands of the Chinese. Provisions were not allowed to be brought in, no one was permitted to go beyond the 'Square,' and matters assumed a decidedly serious aspect. We overcame the difficulty of provisions in this way. The Chinese soldiers being entirely unaccustomed to foreigners, there was a danger that 'trouble would arise;' the Hong merchants therefore represented this to the City authorities, and offered to send their *own coolies* to keep watch at the different gates of the Factories.* This was agreed to, and the double object was gained in supplies of firewood and provisions, which were at night stealthily brought to us by them.

On March 27, on the 'Kin-Chae's' demand to Her Majesty's Superintendent 'that all the opium under the control of the English merchants should be given up,' 20,283 chests were tendered and accepted, and 'Chunpee' fixed upon as the place of delivery. To control the delivery, Mr. Alexander Johnston, Deputy Superintendent, was furnished with a conveyance, and left Canton on April 3. The 'receiving ships' moved up to the Bogue, where the entire quantity was handed over to officers (appointed by the 'Kin-Chae'), who caused it to be destroyed in deep trenches on Chunpee heights. Thus 'reverent obedience' was shown. Captain Elliot remarked, in his despatch to her Majesty's Government, dated March 30, 1839: "This is the *first time, in our intercourse with this Empire*, that its Government has taken the *unprovoked* (?) initiative in aggressive measures against British *life, liberty, and property*, and against the dignity of the British Crown.' No words could more strongly confirm everything herein said in relation to the safety of property and life which we had enjoyed at Canton. But the despatch contained not a word of the provocation given by foreigners in continuing the condemned traffic under constantly repeated injunc-

*That no one might escape.

tions against doing so, and persistent warnings to discontinue it. I, of course, 'do not blame my brother merchants at Canton, no matter to what nation they belonged, as we were all equally implicated. We disregarded local orders, as well as those from Peking, and really became confident that we should enjoy perpetual impunity so far as the 'opium trade' was concerned.

The night of March 24 was one of unusual brilliance in its cloudless sky and full moon. The Factories, forcibly abandoned by several hundred Chinese (estimated at eight hundred) at a moment's notice, resembled somewhat places of the dead! Their foreign occupants were thus left literally in a complete state of destitution as regards service of any kind, not even a scullion being allowed to remain. The consequence was that they were compelled, in order to *live*, to try their own skill in cooking, to make up their own rooms, sweep the floors, lay the table, wash plates and dishes! It may be supposed that it produced discontent, complaints, and impatience. Not at all; we in the *Suy-Hong*—and it was the same with our fellow-prisoners in the other Factories, with few exceptions—made light of it, and laughed rather than groaned over the efforts to roast a capon, to boil an egg or a potato. We could all clean knives, sweep the floors, and even manage to fill the lamps. But there were mysteries which we could not divine; our chief, Mr. Green, after a vain attempt to boil rice—which, when prepared, resembled a tough mass of glue—proved a most wretched cook, and took to polishing the silver, but abandoned that and finally swept the floor! Mr. Low conscientiously did all he could, but after toasting the bread to death, and boiling the eggs till they acquired the consistency of grape-shot, he abandoned that department, and took to one not exacting so much exercise of mind, and 'laid the cloth' dexterously and well. The rest of us, from modesty or a feeling of sheer incapacity, did no more than was absolutely necessary. It would have been unfair to rob the others of their laurels! Some one had to fill the pitchers; any one could draw a cork, or even boil water. Thus, by hook or by crook, we managed to sustain life—of which the 'bread' was nightly supplied to us by Houqua's coolies. They also brought (made up in bags, as if 'personal effects' or 'blankets to keep off the dew,' thus passing the guards) edibles of all sorts.

During the day we met in the Square, which became 'High 'Change' of experiences in desperate efforts to roast, boil, or stew. Some went the length of considering it great fun; others heaped unheard-of blessings upon the heads of His Celestial Majesty, Taou-Kwang, and his envoy 'Lin.'

No two men were so unctuously abused, *as if* the vilifiers themselves had always followed strictly the 'Eight Regulations' under which they lived! What amusement all this created.

By May 2, 15,501 chests had been given up, when the servants were allowed gradually to return, and the whole quantity, 20,283 chests,* completed on the 21st. On the 27th Captain Elliot returned to Macao, and on the 30th the opium clipper 'Ariel' left for Suez direct with despatches for the British Government. She returned on April 2, 1840.

Between May 6 and 21 many foreigners were permitted to leave the city, and went to Macao or Whampoa. Captain Elliot, before going himself, on the 22nd issued a notice to British subjects that they also were to leave, and by the end of the month they had left; and there remained no foreigners but Americans, about twenty-five in number. On the 29th I left with all books, papers, etc., not actually required at Canton, in company with six other boats for Macao, containing Parsees and several English, including Doctors Cox and Dixon. On the way down we were joined by four large chop-boats with Messrs. Lindsay & Co.'s establishment, and John Shillaber and others from Messrs. Jardine, Matheson & Co.'s. The trip was most enjoyable; we dined or passed the day with one another and arrived nearly at the same time at Macao on the night of June 1. The Mandarins who came on board at Che-Nae and at Heang-Shan were civil as usual, and seemed perfectly indifferent to what had passed at Canton.

* * *

The surrender of the 'British-owned opium' was followed by events to which the foreign trade had from its foundation at Canton been a stranger. Now were initiated political relations between the vast and unknown Empire of China and European nations—the first that had existed. No treaty had yet been entered into, except with Russia for regulating its trade and arranging boundaries. Russian and Chinese commercial relations had existed between two frontier towns (separated but by the boundary line) well known as Kiachta and 'Mae-Mae-Ching.†

No Western officer was yet officially recognised, even of the rank of Consul or Vice-Consul, and all communications between one or the other and the Canton Government were through the intermediary of the Co-Hong. The consequences, therefore, that might grow out of the delivery of the opium filled the foreign community with anxiety. The Americans had not delivered any American-owned opium, of which we held at the time of surrender about fifty cases of Turkey, but they determined to remain in the Factories and continue their business. The English on leaving placed

*The Canton agents talked over the question of half-commissions on consignments thus withdrawn. It was argued that their Indian principals would recover from the British Government, a charge sanctioned by commercial usage. The half-commissions were assumed to be about 300,000 dollars. No unanimous decision was arrived at, but on the quantity delivered up by Russell & Co.—nearly 15,000 dollars—the charge was foregone.

†Buying and selling town.

theirs in charge of the American houses. A large share of it fell under the control of Russell & Co., and, to facilitate negotiations with its new constituents outside, one of the partners opened an office on board the English ship 'Heroine,' at 'Kow-Lung,' and subsequently, when all foreign vessels were driven away from that anchorage, at Toon-Koo. Several ships of the firm, including the 'Lintin,' were kept running between these places and Whampoa with British goods at thirty to forty dollars per ton, and Indian cotton at seven dollars per bale, and receiving on board no freight unless consigned to the house. A very active business was carried on under the American flag, greatly to the convenience of English friends, as well as to their profit. Teas were the returns for these inward cargoes, which were brought down to the anchorage and shipped from Toon-Koo for England.

While the shipments were going on an English vessel of about 900 tons arrived from Singapore, named the 'Cambridge,' under the command of Captain Douglas. Being offered for sale, she was purchased by Russell & Co., and her name changed to 'Chesapeake' of eventful memory. Loaded with British goods, valued by 150,000*l.*, with her deck full to the top of the rail, she was despatched for Whampoa, in charge of Captain Gilman. She had of course been put under the American flag. There was very little time to spare, as a blockade was to commence in a few days. On June 22, 1840, H.M.S. 'Volage,' and subsequently the 'Hyacinth,' took up their positions off Chunpeet† at the moment the 'Chesapeake' sailed by. She was the last vessel that entered the port. She arrived at her destination and delivered her cargo, which was landed at Canton in regular course.

The Chinese had thrown a great raft across the river just above the second bar, in anticipation of hostilities with the English. They then thought the best thing to do was to purchase a large foreign ship, arm and man her, and anchor her above the raft, as an additional protection against the barbarian war ships. Application being made to Mr. Delano, the then chief of Russell & Co., who had never left Canton, a bargain was concluded for the 'Chesapeake.' The American flag and papers were removed, and she was made over to the Mandarins. Her 'Cumsha and Measurement' charges, amounting to about \$8,000, were abandoned. The Mandarins took charge and began to fit her out as an 'auxiliary defence' to the raft, and thus stop 'English men-of-war' which 'from vainglory or conceit might dare attempt the inner waters.' Two great eyes were painted on her bows. Great streamers hung from every mast to the deck, a multitude of flags of all colours and shapes—bearing such words painted

†At the mouth of the Bogue.

thereon as 'Courage,' the 'Yang-Yin,' and the 'Pa-Kwa'* together with the rank of the officer in command—were arranged around the taffrail. In short, she became the Chinese emblem of everything 'mighty and victorious!' She would strike would-be assailants with consternation and despair!

Meanwhile her armament was sent on board. Cannon of every available size were ranged on her two decks; round shot, stones, and other missiles were accumulated in quantities; nor were bows and arrows forgotten, nor quantities of muskets, flint-lock and percussion, and the more familiar matchlock. Her crew consisted of Whampoa Chinese (amongst many others)—these were accustomed to foreign vessels, and no better sailor than they—Manila men, Seedies,† and Lascars, runaways from country ships. There were probably four or five hundred men on board.

Thus equipped she was towed down to her appointed station amidst an inconceivable beating of gongs, the explosion of fire crackers, flying serpents, and fiery dragons—thanks to which and her two bow 'eyes' she arrived in safety and anchored.

This was a few days before February 26, 1841, when the Bogue Forts were captured by Sir Gordon Bremer. The 'Unconquerable' was then taking powder on board in large quantities, packed in jars, which were promiscuously stowed on deck and between decks, as usual. She was so engaged also on the 27th, having a great number of chopboats and other small craft alongside. Suddenly appeared the smoke of a steamer approaching from the Bogue! It turned out to be H.M.'s ship 'Nemesis,' Captain Hall. She had the singular audacity to approach the barrier, and when within an easy distance, the 'unheard-of temerity' to try the effect of a Congreve rocket on the emblem of 'victory and might.' The aim was true, and like a flash—or in a 'flash'—ship, crew, and contents, boats, all disappeared from the face of the waters! The explosion was terrific, and was distinctly heard at Canton, a distance of thirty miles. Not a human creature was reported to have survived! For years after there was to be seen on the left bank of the river the bottom of the ship. It had been separated from the hull as if sawn off in all its length; and it gradually disappeared through the combined efforts of Chinese boatmen, who broke up and carried it piece-meal away.

The English forces having moved up to Canton, a suspension of hostilities was agreed upon on March 20, 1841, and the port was again free. Local disturbances, however, broke out, and, on May 22 following,

*Yang-Yin, one of the chief features of which, in some mysterious way, gives notice of impending change of fortune deduced from the Pa-Kwa, a complicated system, of very remote antiquity, of divination.

†Native of Africa, sweepers, etc.

a mob of Chinese plundered and burnt down the East India Company's new Factory, the Dutch, and the Creek. On the 25th, Sir Hugh Gough landed near Pwantingqua's country house and took possession of the heights overlooking the city. The authorities then ransomed it for six millions of dollars, of which five millions were paid on the 31st, when the forces left Canton and foreign vessels again entered the port.

The carrying trade on the river now ceased. Lying in the outer waters we had the 'Lintin,' the 'Lantao,' the 'Lema,' and the 'Ladrone.' The former commenced her career in China as Russell & Co's 'receiving ship' in 1830. She was well constructed to carry a large cargo, and her sailing qualities were fair. Her career and ultimate fate were singular. With the exception of shifting stations during the taiphoon seasons, her anchors were never raised for nine years, when in 1839, as related, she resumed her original vocation of a sailing ship up and down the 'Pearl' River.

During this state of idleness for our ships, I received information from Mr. Delano that Houqua was disposed to send orders to India for cotton. Prices had naturally fallen there during the blockade and troubles at Canton, while the non-importation for several months had caused a great rise. Three of the ships were despatched and 100,000*l.* remitted to Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras. The funds were in East India Company's bills on Calcutta. The 'Lintin' sailed for Madras, the 'Lantao' for Calcutta, and the 'Lema' for Bombay, thus securing so much tonnage for the cotton, while other vessels were to be chartered at those ports. The first vessel, however, that arrived with a portion of the purchases was the Swedish ship 'Calcutta,' and she had anchored in the Taypa only a few days when she was driven on shore in a taiphoon. In due time our own ships arrived. The 'Lintin' was then despatched a second time, but got no further than Singapore, when her captain, Townsend, in direct breach of orders, and under various pretexts, took in a cargo of rattans and returned to Macao! His 'accounts' being refused, he brought an action against us in the Macao court.

It was still going on when I left Macao in 1844. The legal papers had so accumulated that they seemed sufficient to 'dunnage' the ship. Asking the clerk of the court one day if he thought it would *ever* be settled, he made the same reply that he had repeated for years: 'Se senhor, mã, hum poco tiempo!' ('Certainly, sir, but it requires a little time').

The 'Lintin,' however, was sent to Whampoa. The first English treaty with the Chinese having been broken, further preparations were made for defence, and the authorities, not discouraged, sought for another foreign ship—this time for service nearer the city. They took a fancy

to the 'Lintin;' she was sold to them, and towed up the river by a great fleet of small boats. An eye† was painted on each bow; she was completely unrigged to her lower masts, and, amidst a confused noise of gongs and fireworks, she was anchored just below the Dutch Folly, opposite the city.

On the day appointed for 'making her over,' various high Mandarins with many followers came on board, Captain Endicott, who was in charge, had caused certain refreshments to be laid out on the cabin table with which to regale these officers. They consisted of several junk bottles of gin and brandy, a jug or two of water, hard biscuits and cheroots! Before accompanying them over the ship, he invited them to the cabin.

As he said when relating the circumstance to us, 'after drinks all round and a weed' we returned on deck to look about the vessel; next we visited the between-decks, and the Mandarins pronounced everything highly satisfactory. Seeing a Scuttle-Butt§ pump, it attracted the attention of one of them, who took it to be an 'engine of war,' and asked to be informed as to the manner of its use! They soon after took leave and returned to the city. 'Thank heaven,' said Captain Endicott to a gentleman whom he had asked on board to see the Chinese officials, 'that's over; now that they are off, let us go down and take a drink and a smoke.' On getting to the cabin they found that *everything*—the gin and brandy, cigars, biscuits, even the water-jug, pitcher, and tumblers—had all been walked off with by the followers of the high dignitaries! A Chinese crew and naval Mandarin took possession, as Captain Endicott pulled away from his 'old home' for so many years. She was then duly turned into a Chinese man-of-war. There were the usual insignia of invincibility, triangular flags, on which were figures of dragons swallowing the moon, the 'Yin and Yang,' circles and zigzag lines, emblematical of thunder and lightning.

The commanding officer of all this destructive paraphernalia, with the peacock's feather in his cap, a large silk umbrella held over his head, seated himself comfortably in a bamboo chair, smoking his pipe.

Other formidable preparations for war were duly made in a provision of worm-eaten guns, matchlocks, spears, and shields. She would soon have been ready for an encounter with any of the English sloops, whether the 'Modeste' or the 'Algerine,' perhaps even the 'Herald,' but one night a great freshet took place. The violence of the tide was such

†The 'eyes' on the bows of Chinese junks gave rise to the expression, 'No got eye, no can see,' under the erroneous foreign belief that the Chinese attributed to them the power of seeing and avoiding danger. This is very far from the fact. The bows of sea-going junks represent the head of a *dragon*, with expanded jaws and full round eyes, and, being the symbol of the Chinese Empire, it is used as a carved eagle may be on an American vessel, without occult power attaching thereto.

§A 'Scuttle-Butt' is a cask with a square hole in its bilge, kept on deck to hold water for daily use, which is drawn by means of a hand-pump.

that she swerved at her anchor from right to left, struck on the rocks close to the 'Folly,' slid off, and went down in deep water! The Chinese then set to work and unshipped her masts, leaving a stump of the foremast about seven feet above the deck, and placed upon it a diminutive lantern. This served thenceforth as a 'lighthouse' to guide boats up and down the river! It was the *first* lighthouse in Canton waters 'on record.' When I last saw the stump of the mast, twenty-eight years after, a great bank of mud had formed around the hull, and a faint glimmer from a penny dip in a small paper lantern marked the last resting-place of the 'Lintin.'

* * *

The seizure of the opium in its consequences was the feature in the breaking up of the exclusive conditions of foreign trade at Canton, as it had existed since 1720. The peculiar conditions also of social life were doomed, as was that perfect and wonderful organisation, the Co-Hong.

On August 10, 1841, Sir Henry Pottinger arrived at Macao as Her Majesty's sole plenipotentiary and Minister Extraordinary. Negotiations with the Mandarins were carried on simultaneously with the capture of cities on the coast. The material losses and destruction of life to the Chinese were incalculable, particularly through suicide by those helpless people. An English officer who was present at the taking of Chā-Po in May 1842 wrote to a friend at Macao that on landing, about 3,500 strong, under cover of the men-of-war, the most terrible enormities were committed. He then goes on to say: 'After the city had been captured, I entered more than a hundred houses, and in each there were not less than two, and in many eight, persons found dead. They were the bodies of mothers and daughters who had committed suicide from a dread of becoming prisoners; 1,600 dead were buried after the battle, of which more than one-half were Tartar soldiers, who in despair of repelling the enemy, and preferring death to defeat, had *nearly* all destroyed themselves. Is not this a splendid exhibition of patriotism?'

The losses of the English on this occasion by the official accounts were one colonel, one sergeant, and seven men killed, seven officers and forty-seven men wounded; and so on to the end, the pigmy against the giant!

At length the treaty of Nanking, in which the Chinese consented to pay an indemnity of \$21,000,000, was signed off that city, on board of H.M.S. 'Cornwallis,' on August 29, 1842, by his Excellency Sir Henry Pottinger, the Imperial Commissioners Ke-Ying and E-Leepoo, and New-Keen, the Viceroy of Keang-Nan and Keang-Se. And thus concluded the first European war with China, one of the most unjust ever waged by one nation against another.

The next treaty was that of the United States, which was signed at the village of Mong-Hã (Macao) on July 3, 1844, by Mr. Caleb Cushing and Ke-Ying. Together they were the 'knell, the shroud, the mattock, and the grave' of Old Canton.

* * *

The Chinese had not looked with satisfaction upon the concessions they had been obliged to make to an overwhelming military and naval force, which had caused them the loss of myriads of lives, often under circumstances of great atrocity, of unheard-of suffering, as well as of many millions of dollars independently of the war indemnity. The ordeal was a terrible one; but they gained by it the, to them, unenvied *privilege* of falling in with Western ideas. Encouraged by the confidence inspired by *so great a privilege*, they now contract for loans of money, they build vessels of war on European models, and drill their soldiers in foreign tactics; they provide themselves with Western arms of precision—in short, they are putting on their armour. They are in full career of a diplomacy in which Ambassadors or Ministers—that is to say, 'spies upon one another'—watch over the interests of their respective countries. With the sword at their throat they have become members of what is facetiously called the 'Brotherhood' of Nations !

MESSRS. RUSSELL & CO., CANTON

1823 to 1844

The house of Russell & Co. was constituted on January 1, 1824, in succession to that of Samuel Russell & Co., which had existed from December 26, 1818, to December 26, 1823. It is known among the Chinese as 'Kee-Chang-Hong.' It confined itself strictly to agency business. From January 1, 1824, until the middle of 1830 the sole partners were Mr. Russell and Philip Ammidon. In September 1829 Mr. Wm. H. Low arrived from Salem in the ship 'Sumatra' (Captain Roundy); and in November 1830 Mr. Augustine Heard, Senior, arrived from Boston in the bark 'Lintin' (Captain R. B. Forbes). These two gentlemen (Mr. Low and Mr. Heard) became partners in the house, the first until the end of the year 1833, when having been obliged to leave Canton from ill health, he was landed and died at the Cape of Good Hope.

During the term of 1834-5-6, consequent upon the death of Mr. Low, were admitted Mr. John C. Green (special agent at Canton of Messrs. N. L. and G. Griswold, of New York), Mr. John M. Forbes, who had arrived in the 'Lintin' to join the office in 1830, and Mr. Joseph Coolidge, who arrived in 1832; and Mr. Heard retired.

The term of 1837-8-9 saw the withdrawal of Messrs. Forbes and Coolidge, the first on December 31, 1838, and the latter on December 31, 1839. Were admitted on January 1, 1837, Mr. A. A. Low (nephew of Mr. W. H. Low, who had come out to join the office in 1833), and Mr. W. C. Hunter. Mr. Edward King (who came out in the 'Silas Richards,' Captain Rosseter, 1834) was taken in the office on arrival, and became a partner on July 1, 1837; Mr. Robert B. Forbes (who arrived in the 'Bashaw' in October 1838) was admitted January 1, 1839, and became the chief of the house.

The term of 1840-41-42, Mr. A. A. Low having retired, began with the admission of Mr. Warren Delano (formerly of the house of Russell, Sturgis, & Co., of Canton and Manila). He succeeded Mr. Forbes as chief of the house when the latter left for New York in the 'Niantic' on July 7, 1840. Mr. Russell Sturgis, also a former partner of Russell, Sturgis, & Co., became a partner on January 1, 1842. Mr. King and Mr. Hunter retired on December 31, 1842, left Macao in February 1844 for New York,

viâ the Cape (in the ship 'Akbar,' Captain Hallet), and the retirement of Mr. Sturgis took place on December 31, 1843.

This is but a rapid *résumé* of an interval of twenty years. A history of the house from its foundation to the present time—a period of sixty years—has been compiled by a former partner. The work, which would prove of interest to its many friends, its old associates, and their successors, may be published.

